CIPHERING SONG, DE-CIPHERING IDENTITY: THE *LIBRO DE CIFRA NUEVA* (1557), AND THE MEDIATION OF IDENTITY AND SOUND IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

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CIPHERING SONG, DE-CIPHERING IDENTITY: THE *LIBRO DE CIFRA NUEVA* (1557), AND THE MEDIATION OF IDENTITY AND SOUND IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

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The present study consists of two major parts: the first and central part of the project is an expanded historical and cultural consideration of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* (1557); the second is a translation of Venegas's *Libro*, here made available in English for the first time. As one of the earliest books of intabulations for keyboard printed in Spain, the *Libro* is a valuable source of information about keyboard practice in 16th-century Spain: performance practices, improvisation at the keyboard, the repertoire played on and arranged for the instrument, and the sources of that repertoire. The project places this important source in the context of Early Modern Spanish culture and addresses important shifts in music pedagogy arising from by Humanist ideas introduced to Spain in the 16th century. My study shows that autodidacticism (or self-teaching) was the Humanist ideal that had the most impact on the content and layout of the book. Given the great degree of self-determination that this

book's autodidacticism offered readers, its musical praxis stands revealed as an important socio-cultural tool. Drawing on other contemporary works that promote the use of autodidacticism to learn language, decorum, games, and court polity, my conclusions show how music-making could become a powerful set of skills capable of shaping subjectivity, a set of skills that was used equally by individual subjects as well as the State in the process of creating identity.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Originally from Puerto Rico, Carlos Roberto Ramírez is a musicologist and harpsichordist whose primary research area is the study of Early Modern music and culture, focusing on the convergence of musical practice, organology, the history of the book, and subjectivity from 1350 to 1750. Carlos's secondary research area examines representations of gender, class, and race in Latinx musics, exploring the interaction of structures of power and subject-formation in the genre of *reggaeton*. An ardent advocate for the combination of musical practice and scholarship, Carlos performs regularly and has had the opportunity to study historically informed practice with some of the leading exponents in the field such as Christopher Hogwood, Jordi Savall, Neal Zaslaw, Annette Richards, and Joyce Lindorff. He has presented his research at a number of conferences, including the American Musicological Society (AMS), the Symposium of the International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music (FIMTE), the Royal Musical Association (RMA), Columbia University, and Princeton University. Carlos earned a Bachelor of Music, and Master of Music in Music History and Historical Keyboard performance at Temple University's Boyer College of Music and Dance

(Philadelphia, PA), where he studied harpsichord with Joyce Lindorff and Musicology with Stephen Willier. His doctoral work at Cornell University's Department of Music was co-chaired by Judith A. Peraino and Neal A. Zaslaw, and was supported by Cornell University's Graduate School Dean's Fellowship, Cornell University's Provost Completion Fellowship, Ithaca College Pre-Doctoral Diversity Fellowship, and the Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies. In the Fall of 2019, Carlos will join the faculty of the School of Music at the University of Illinois (Champaign-Urbana) as Assistant Professor of Musicology.

Le dedico la presente obra a mi familia, biológica y académica, sin el apoyo de la cual no hubiese sido posible. Especialmente se la dedico a mis padres, **Carlos Roberto Ramírez Barlas** y **Rebeca Rodríguez Pérez**, quienes instruyeron a su hijo en su carrera, para que aún de viejo no se apartara de ella.

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Introduction

In 1984 at the Utrecht International Lute Symposium, Howard Mayer Brown called on the musicological community to take up the study of 16th-century intabulations, highlighting their importance as sources of historical information about the tastes and music-distribution networks in Early Modern Europe.[1] Intabulations reveal a great deal about musical practice in the 16th century because they represent the ways in which players of chordal instruments made arrangements of polyphonic music in order to play them on the keyboard, vihuela or lute. This intabulation and ciphering process was not required of other instrumentalists who only played one line of music at a time because it was significantly easier for them to play directly from the part books.[2] Further, Brown believed that books of intabulated, or ciphered, music provide the musicologist the opportunity to explore the transmission of a particular style or repertoire as it was understood by working musicians who made changes to the compositions to suit their needs and showcase their playing skills. This kind of study can reveal the transmission of vocal and instrumental music, the ways this music was

[1] Howard M. Brown,"The importance of Sixteenth-Century Intabulations,"*Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht 1986*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp and Willem Mook (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1986), 1-29.

[2] Brown, "The importance of Sixteenth-Century Intabulations," 2.

interpreted or arranged, and it can also reveal the socio-cultural and political structures behind musical practice.

The main historical object in my research is Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa, y Vihuela* (1557). The first transcriptions of the ciphered music contained in Venegas's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* were done by Higiní Anglés in 1925, and in 1944 he published a transcription of the prologue and the music in the second volume of the *Monumentos de la Música Española*.[3] Anglés's publication was based on the sole exemplar available at the time, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), R/598.

The present is the first comprehensive study of the *Libro* since Anglés's 1944 publication, and my translation makes the text available in English for the first time. My study is based on a second copy of the work that has come to light since Anglés's edition, R/6497, also at the Biblioteca Nacional. Both BNE R/598 and R/6497 are from the same, and seemingly only, edition of the *Libro*; there are, however, some physical differences between the two examples. Folio numbers have been added in ink to BNE R/598; these were added by hand next to the printed page numbers, and although it is not possible to ascertain when these

[3] Higiní Anglés, *Monumentos De La Música Española.* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientifícas, Institución "Milà i Fontanals", Departamento de Musicología, 1944), Vol. II: 142-197.

numbers were added, they appear to be written in the style of 16th-century notarial cursive script.[4] In terms of physical condition, both examples have damage to certain folios; the lower right corner of folio 2 in BNE R/598 has been torn at an unknown time, making portions of the section "To the Reader" [*Al* lector] unreadable. On the other hand, the corners of the first nine folios (i.e. the theoretical portion of the *Libro*) of R/6497 exhibit heavy use and have all been partially torn; this suggest that the user (or users) of this particular copy of the book might have used the theoretical portion of the book and the explanation of the cipher heavily. Further, R/6497 seems to have been trimmed at some point, and this has rendered the bottom of the example in folio 7 unreadable, this is not the case for R/598.

Broadly, my research deploys physical objects and materials as the basis for the cultural study and analysis of subject-formation and identity in 16th-century Spain; more specifically I argue that printed music books, such as the *Libro*, were one of the tools available to 16th-century Spanish subjects of the Crown for the purposes of fashioning themselves and their subjectivities. I argue that self-fashioning was essential for Spanish subjects during this particular historical

[4] It is possible that these numbers were added by either Felipe Pedrell when he examined the copy during the 19th century or Higiní Anglés during the early 20th century. In his analysis of the *Libro*, Anglés noted that the folio numbers started on the third folio, what he called an egregious printing error. See: Anglés, *Monumentos*, 144.

moment because being different in 16th century Spain was dangerous, as suspicions of otherness could lead to expulsion, torture and sometimes death at the hands of the Inquisition.

As one of the earliest printed books of Spanish keyboard music, the *Libro* is perfectly positioned as a source for the intersectional socio-cultural study of printed books, music, pedagogy, and identity. My research investigates a dichotomy between the ideology of performance (what is taught in the books), and the performance of ideology (how that knowledge is embodied).[5]

My premise, that printed books such as the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* are central to the process of identity and subject formation, is predicated on the following assertions: (1) Printed books can reach a wide audience, creating a base of interlocutors who benefit from and share the information found in such manuals. In this way books are generative of community and identity, where identity is understood to be those characteristics that bind communities together through sameness. (2) Books like the *Libro* provide a self-contained instruction

[5] S.v. "ideology, n." *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, March 2019): *Ideology*: A systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating to politics, economics, or society and forming the basis of action or policy; a set of beliefs governing conduct. Also: the forming or holding of such a scheme of ideas.

method about what to do and how to do it, and this is supposedly done in the simplest way possible to eliminate complexity and encourage autodidacticism.

(3) The 16th century witnessed a shift in social perception from one in which the errant fighting knight was the ideal courtier, to one in which courtliness is increasingly based on knowledge, intellectuality, education, and refinement.

(4) Books provide the State (understood as the interlinked dyad of Church and Crown) with the perfect medium for the dissemination and control of sanctioned ideologies (and repertoire) by providing approved models of what Spanish culture was and at the same time controlling dissenting or errant ideas. Such premises find resonance in the work of Clifford Geertz, who theorized that "there is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture where culture is a set of control mechanisms–plans, recipes, rules, instructions—for the governing of behavior."[6] In Early Modern Spain, the cultural elements that required control—how to dress, what to eat, the language spoken, and the music played or listened to—were tightly overseen by the institution of the Holy Inquisition; one of the only ways to escape suspicion was to conform, at least outwardly, to the accepted cultural ideologies: a process achieved through self-fashioning. In speaking about this process of culture as mechanism of control and how it relates to his theory of self-

[6] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 51.

fashioning, Stephen Greenblatt states that "self-fashioning is in effect the Renaissance version of these [i.e. Geertz's] control mechanisms, the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment."[7] The abstract potential to which Greenblatt refers is found in a printed book, an object that can contain the "correct" ideology and content. The concrete embodiment takes place when the knowledge in those books is used to shape oneself in the mold created by those in power. Music here is both a disciplining act that shapes the body through practice and an act of embodied ideology achieved through performance. In the case of the *Libro* this performance is made possible through both the editorial interventions of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa and the authority of Inquisition which allowed the printing to take place.

The present work is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1, "Description of BNE Ms. R/6497," is centered on the physical material aspects of this Spanish musical print. It focuses on: (1) the conception of the method and the printing technologies required to print such a text; (2) the figure of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa and what we know about him, his patron, and the ways those

[7] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3.

relationships are evident in the book; and (3) Venegas's newly invented cipher and the context for its conception in Early Modern Spain.

The second chapter, "The *Libro de cifra Nueva* as pedagogical ideology for keyboard," examines the first of the three major sections in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (Alcalá, 1557): Venegas's own prefatory remarks. The aim here is the analysis of the book's pedagogical outline and content, contextualizing that pedagogical content within the tradition of printed books of music tablature in 16th-century Spain, and providing evidence of the circumstances—cultural and political—that shaped the *Libro*'s content and organization. In large part, this first section of the book is a primer on singing practice: an aspect of the book not previously taken into consideration by scholarship about the book. I argue that this primer on vocal practice (plainchant, polyphony, and counterpoint) is in fact a crucial component of Venegas's pedagogical method, a method that closely links vocal music and keyboard practice.

In Chapter 3, "Curating sound: The *Libro de cifra Nueva* and musical genre," I provide an analysis of the organization and contents of the *Libro.* I show how genre was both a way for Venegas to organize his book and a way to generate identity through musical practice and performance.

Finally, the fourth chapter, "Mediating Sound: Music, Identity, and the creation of the Spanish Subject," places the *Libro* in the context of other books for self-teaching (music, etiquette, games, etc.) to demonstrate the ways printed books were used by 16th-century Spanish subjects for the purpose of fashioning themselves and their subjectivities. I argue that having enough discursive and practical musical knowledge became essential for the courtier (and those with aspirations of social mobility) because of the ways that music-making offered a space for the performance of ideology, identity and sociability.

Chapter One

Description of Madrid BNE R/6497.

About the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/6497; R/598.
Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueua para tecla, harpa, y vihuela* [Texto impreso]: *en el qual se enseña breuemente cantar canto llano, y canto de organo, y algunos auisos para contrapunto* [Alcalá 1557]

The *Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa y Vihuela* [*Libro*] by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa [Venegas] was first catalogued by Belgian musicologist François-Joseph Fétis in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (1878, vol. VII); Fétis mentions the work in a cursory manner, merely including the exemplar as an entry in his catalogue. As can be seen below, Fétis transcribed the title of the book, using the word "trattado" (which does not appear anywhere in the book) instead of "libro:"[8]

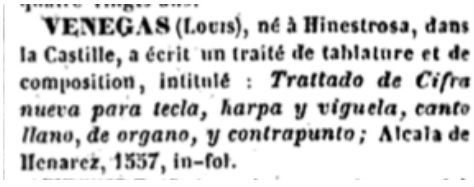
VENEGAS (Louis), né à Hinestrosa, dans la Castille, a écrit un traité de tablature et de composition, intitulé : *Trattado de Cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y viguela, canto llano, de organo, y contrapunto;* Alcala de Henarez, 1557, in-fol.

Figure 1. Entry for the *Libro* by Fétis in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique,* 1881.

[8] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1881), Vol. VII: 316.

Sometime in the late 19th century, the exemplar came to be in the possession of Francisco Ansejo Barbieri (1823—1894), a Spanish composer who was among the first in Spain to practice the emerging science of musicology; it was through E. Vander Straeten, who mentions the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* in his 1888 publication *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, VIII, that Barbieri came to know the book.[9] The first scholar to study the book in detail was Spanish composer and musicologist Felip Pedrell Sabaté, who transcribed some of the intabulations in the *Libro* in *Hispanie Schola Musica Sacra*.[10] Pedrell's work on the *Libro*, however, was carried out with the intent of identifying compositions by Antonio de Cabezón, who Pedrell wanted to claim as an early Spanish master-composer in his highly-biased nationalist narrative of Spanish music. In fact, Pedrell saw little value in Venegas's *Libro* which he called "one of the most erroneously-printed cipher books in Spanish history," and only excerpted the pieces from the book that were (1) by Cabezón and (2) had "artistic value."[11] In 1902, Guillermo Morphy described the *Libro* in

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[9] E. Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles: Muquardt, 1872), Vol. VIII: 453.

[10] Felipe Pedrell, *Hispaniae schola musica sacra: Opera Varia [saecul. XV, XVI, XVII et XVIII],* (Barcelona: Pujol, 1897).

[11] Pedrell states: "una de las impresiones cifradas más incorrectas que hayan salido de las prensas de música españolas," and states that he only transcibed some of the pieces in the book that offered artistic value ("he pasado por alto las composiciones de Antonio que no ofreden otro interés que el meramente práctico ó mejor dicho mecánico." See: Pedrell, *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, Vol. VIII: iv.

his publication *Les Luthistes Espagnoles du XVIe Siècle*, and appears to be among the first to observe that the collected works of Antonio de Cabezón, published in 1576, employed the same ciphering method that Venegas had devised for—and promoted in—his *Libro* almost twenty years earlier.[12] Morphy also provides a transcription of the music found in the prefatory material setting couplets by Jorge Manrique. Otto Kinkeldey mentions the work only in passing in his 1910 *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts.*[13] The first full transcription of the works contained in Venegas's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (1557) were done by Higiní Anglés in 1925 and in 1944 he published these transcriptions along with a brief study of the book in the second volume of the *Monumentos de la Música Española.*[14] The music transcribed for the second volume of the *Monumentos* was probably the transcription he started in 1925; Anglés himself states that at the time of publication there was only one exemplar of the *Libro* which had been part

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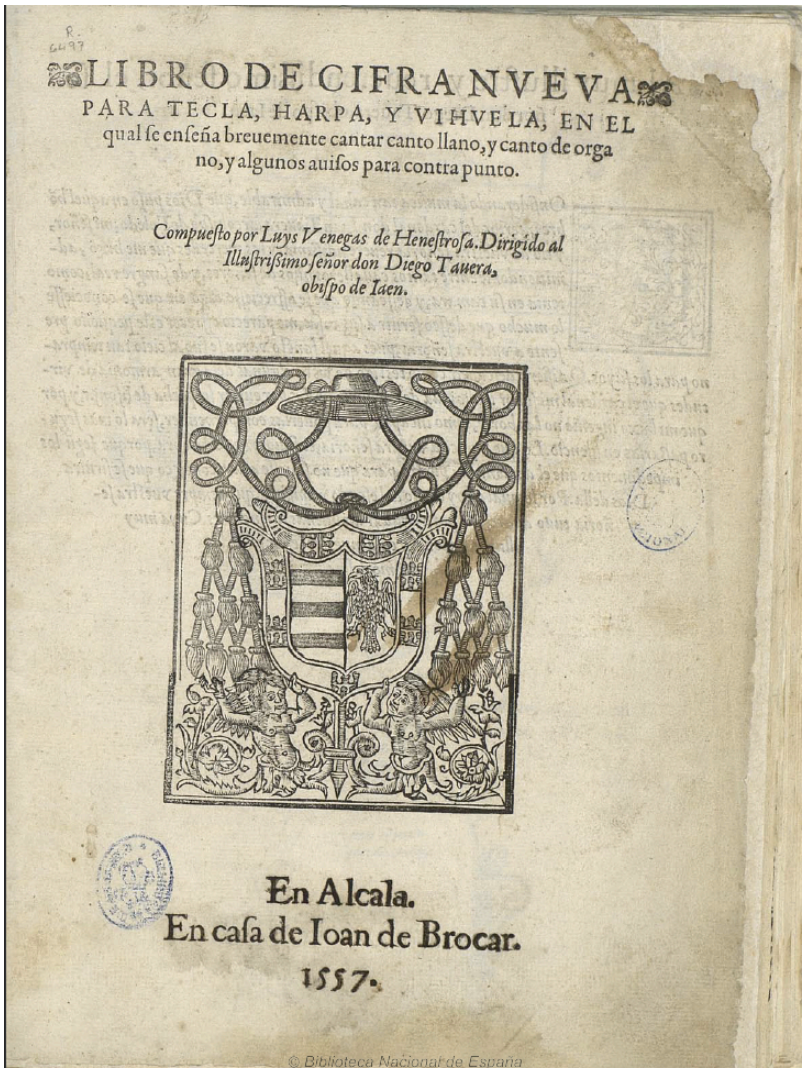
[12] G Morphy, Hugo Riemann, F A. Gevaert, and Charles Malherbe. *Les Luthistes Espagnoles Du Xvie Siècle: Die Spanischen Lantenmeister,* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1902).

[13] Higiní Anglés mentions in his edition that although Kinkeldey knew of the exemplar, he only mentions it in passing because he was not able to access it himself. See: Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel Und Klavier in Der Musik Des 16. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Instrumentalmusik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910).

[14] Higiní Anglés, and L. Venegas de Henestrosa, *La Música En La Corte De Carlos V, Con La Transcripción Del "libro De Cifra Nueva Para Tecla, Harpa Y Vihuela" De Luys Venegas De Henestrosa [alcalá De Henares, 1557]*, (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto español de musicología, 1944), 142-197.

of the Francisco Alejo Barbieri collection, donated to the National Library of Spain at the time of Barbieri's death. Anglés himself states that the exemplar that he used for his 1944 study and transcription was loaned to him through an interlibrary loan between the National Library and the Library of Barcelona.[15]


R. 6497

LIBRO DE CIFRA NVEVA
PARA TECLA, HARPA, Y VIHVELA, EN EL
qual se enseña breuemente cantar canto llano, y canto de orga
no, y algunos auisos para contra punto.

Compuesto por Luys Venegas de Henestrosa. Dirigido al Illustrissimo señor don Diego Tauera, obispo de Iaen.

En Alcala.
En casa de Ioan de Brocar.
1557.

Figure 2. Title page of BNE R/6497, *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

[15] Anglés, *La Música En La Corte De Carlos V*, 144.

The book is 27cm tall, 18.5cm wide, and 1cm thick; it contains 170 pages, printed on paper on both sides, with the text in two columns, except for the dedicatory remarks and the *Argument and Prologue* which are printed in a single justified column.

The title page (*Figure 2*), plain in comparison to other 16th-century tablature books, is printed with a Roman font typeface; it contains the full title of the book (*Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa, y Vihuela, en el qual se enseña brevemente cantar canto llano, y canto de organo, y algunos avisos para contrapunto*)[16] and below that the information on the author and dedicatee: *Compuesto por Luys Venegas de Henestrosa. Dirigido al Illustrisimo señor don Diego Tavera, Obispo de Iaen.*[17] Below the dedication we find the only significant illustration in the title page, the coat of arms (see *Figure 2*) of the Tavera family. Below the coat of arms, we have the information on the place of printing (Alcalá de Henares), the printer (Juan Brócar) and the year (1557).[18] In the current

[16] Book of the New Cipher for Keyboard, Harp, and Vihuela, which also briefly teaches plainchant, and polyphony, and some advice for counterpoint.

[17] Compiled by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa. Dedicated to the most Illustrious sir don Diego Tavera, bishop of Jaen.

[18] Of interest is the fact that the typography used for this information seems to me to be disproportionately large when compared to the other information on the page.

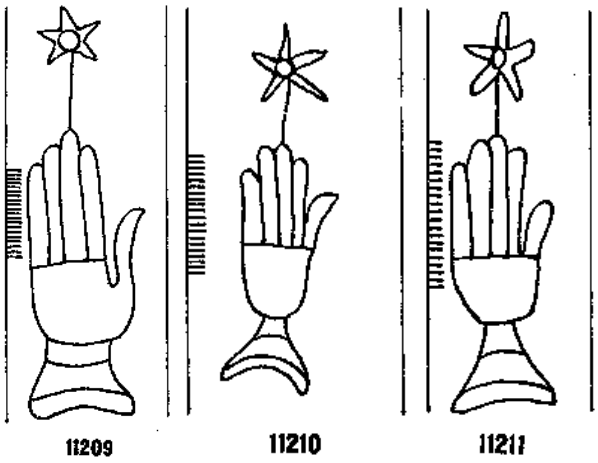
exemplar, the stamps of the National Library of Spain are visible in the title page and appear in purple ink.

Watermarks

I had the opportunity to examine the document's watermarks, something not undertaken by Higiní Anglés, at the National Library of Spain; the printer used the same paper throughout BNE. R/6497, all containing the same water mark (seen in my rendering below).

The watermark consists of an open hand, topped by a five-pointed star that is connected to the middle finger of the hand by a line or stem; the hand features a line that cuts across all fingers. The hand is supported by a cuff with an arched detail (possibly a sleeve motif) that becomes wider at the base. This particular watermark is almost identical to three watermarks described by Charles Briquet

as numbers 11210, 11211 and 11214.[19] Watermark 11210 was found by Briquet primarily in French works dating from 1546 and 1551 (printed in Angers and Tours, France).



Watermark 11211 has also been found in a work printed in Angers, France from 1553. This suggests that the paper used to print the *Libro* might have been imported, in this case from across the Pyrenees. A similar watermark (11209) has been found in a book printed in Madrid in 1547, although the line that separates the fingers from the palm does not traverse the thumb, as it does in the watermark found in the *Libro.* Watermark number 182 described by Oriol Valls is also similar to the one found in the *Libro*, and is found on paper used for a letter by the very Cardinal Juan Tavera who was Venegas's patron.[20] This connection is the

[19] C.-M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique Des Marques Du Papier [Des Leur Apparition Vers 1282 Jusqu'En 1600]* (New York, 1977).

[20] Oriol Valls i Subirà, et al., *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia* (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society Labarre Foundation, 1970).

strongest evidence (other than the dedication of the book) of a relationship between the Cardinal and Venegas.

The Dedication

Venegas dedicates his *Libro* to Diego Tavera, who at the time of publication held the post of Bishop of Jaén. From the text of the dedication we can gather one more clue about the dedicatee, namely that he was the nephew of Juan Pardo Tavera (see also Appendix 2, p. 220):

> Considering the plenteous and admirable music that God placed in the man that is the Cardinal Don Juan Tavera—Archbishop of Toledo, my master, uncle of your most reverend person—and the grace he showed in having admitted me into the company of so many Gentlemen sons of Lords, and of royal blood as he had in his chamber, and wishing to produce something though which I could make known my wish to honor his memory, I offer this small present to your Lordship, since that great man went to heaven so early to be with his own.[21]

First, I address Diego Tavera, and offer some explanations as to why this book would have been dedicated to him. In 1555, Diego Tavera Ponce de León (Luis Enrique Tavera Rodríguez) was named Bishop of Jaén at a time when construction on a new cathedral, started in 1548, was underway in the city: a sign

[21] Venegas, *Libro de Cifra*, fol. 1v.

of a burgeoning political and liturgical establishment. Diego Tavera was the nephew of Juan Pardo de Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor of Spain until his death in 1545. Juan Pardo was one of the most powerful political figures of his time; he was also the patron of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa: the compiler of the *Libro*. The financial situation of Venegas was likely adversely affected by the death of his powerful patron in 1545, perhaps leaving him unemployed or without a pension. I believe that we find clues about this exact situation in the introductory material of the *Libro* itself.

After the dedication page, we find a full-page illustration (*Figure 3*) where a skeleton holds up a parchment cartouche. On either side of the skull are inscribed the words *Certum* [certain] to the left and *In incerto* [in uncertainty] to the right; within the parchment cartouche is written a short three-voice composition in polyphonic notation, presumably Venegas's own.[22] The text of this composition [motet?] comprises the first two stanzas from Jorge Manrique's 15th-century collection *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* [Verses on the Death of His Father]:[23]

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[22] This musical example was transcribed and made available in print for the first time by Guillermo Morphy. See: Morphy, *Les Luthistes Espagnoles,* 228.

[23] Jorge Manrique (c. 1440 – 1479) was a Spanish poet who is best known for his work *Coplas a La Muerte de Su Padre* [Verses on the Death of His Father]; he was a staunch supporter of Queen Isabela and was a descendant of the Mendoza noble family, who counted many poets

Recuerde el alma dormida	Let the sleeping soul remember
Avive el seso y despierte,	to enliven the mind and awake
contemplando,	to contemplate,
Como se pasa la vida,	How life passes,
como se viene la muerte,	and how death comes,
tan callando.	so silently.[24]

Below the musical setting, the cartouche is attached to a figure clutching a snake by the neck; the figure is also holding a tripartite globe, in the center of which is an inscription that reads "*inferno.*" On the largest of the globe's sections is inscribed a verse from the Gospel of St. John that reads *Qui amat animam suam [suã] perdet [pdet] eam [eã]. Ioã.12.* [He that loves his life shall lose it. John 12.] On the bottom two sections of the globe can be seen a city with a church and its cross to the right, and to the left what looks like the figure of a knight about to

among its members, as well as some of the most important state officials during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. See: Suñén, Luis. *Jorge Manrique*. Madrid: EDAF, 1980. Manrique, Jorge. *Coplas a La Muerte De Jorge Manrique: Homenaje Poético En Honor De Jorge Manrique*. (Palencia: La Diputación, 1979).

[24] All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. There is a translation of this work by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow from 1833 which reads:

> O let the soul her slumbers break,
> Let thought be quickened, and awake;
> Awake to see
>
> How soon this life is past and gone,
> And death comes softly stealing on,
> How silently!

lance a bear. Flanking the figure that seems to be holding the globe, is another inscription from them Psalms:

> *Intelligite hæc, qui obliviscimini Deum.*
> *Nequando rapiat, & non sit qui eripiat. Psal.49.*
>
> Understand these things, you that forget God;
> lest he snatch you away, and there be none to deliver you.
> Psalm 49, v. 22. [Vulgate]

Figure 3. Cartouche containing a musical setting of Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre,* 1477 (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

At first glance it seems quite appropriate to have all of these elements of death because Venegas is dedicating the collection to Diego Tavera, whose dead Uncle had been Venegas's patron. But based on evidence from the correspondence between Bishop Diego Tavera and Venegas, I suggest a more sinister meaning. One of the clauses in Cardinal Juan Tavera's will indicated that the members of his Chamber, among them Venegas, should be paid the equivalent of two years of salary as an honorarium after his death; Cardinal Tavera died in 1545 and documentary evidence suggests that the executor of his will, Bishop Diego Tavera, did not carry out his uncle's promise, as suggested in a letter address to him by Venegas two years after the death of the Cardinal:[25]

> To the most Rev. and most magnificent lord *don* Diego Tavera of the Council of His Majesty's Inquisition, etc., my lord, in Madrid.
>
> Most Rev. and most magnificent Lord:
>
> May God grant Your Grace [Y. G.] as many good years as I hope for myself. The present is so that Y. G. may know that I am aggravated that it has not been done unto my what has been done with the other members of the Household of the Cardinal, my lord, especially ordered by the cardinal, my lord, that members of his

[25] Letter translated by me, and reproduced from the Spanish original published in: Jaime Moll Roqueta, "Músicos de la corte del Cardenal Juan Tavera (1523-1545): Luis Venegas de Henestrosa," *Anuario musical* 6, (Institución Milá y Fontanals del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), 155. There are other similar letters from other members of the Cardinal's chamber, particularly a remarkable one by Francisco Torres, a cleric who was one of the Cardinal's organists.

> chamber be given a stipend [*luto*[26]]. I beg Y. G., because it is in your power, that you arrange to have my stipend given me. I ask for no other disbursement, although I very well could with more entitlement than other who complain. And since I think that a personal letter will be more effective in this than the plaintiffs I have sent on my behalf, namely fr. Luis Gonçáles y Bustamante y Villalobos; because I am Y.G. servant I do not wish to bother Y. G. with too many words in the present, since you are so busy. May Our Lord keep your Most Reverend person and household. De Taracena 2 January.
>
> I kiss the hands of Y. G.
> Luis de Enestrosa

When his late patron's nephew was elevated to the position of Bishop of Jaén, Venegas likely saw the perfect opportunity to curry favor with him, perhaps seeking a benefice or pension. The compilation of a book such as the *Libro* likely took several years of work, because the music had to be first ciphered by Venegas himself from the original sources before it was sent to the printer for type-setting; the type-setting of the contents would itself have taken months with the use of movable type: Venegas himself says as much in the prologue of this book.[27] With that in mind, I believe that Venegas began compiling his collection when Diego

[26] Here the word used is *luto*, which literally translates to "mourning;" it is possible that the reference here is to a type of payment given to members of a household as a sort of severance payment on the death of the employer.

[27]Venegas*, Libro de Cifra Nueva*, fol. 3*v*.

Tavera was named bishop and it was finalized two years later, when he would have presented (or sent) a copy to the dedicatee.

In light of this evidence the program of text and figure on folio 3*v* takes on a tone of ominous warning about greed and unfulfilled promises possibly directed at the Cardinal's nephew, who is the dedicatee of the book. There is no evidence to say whether Venegas succeeded in securing any type of patronage from Diego Tavera a decade after his patron died, but the story seems to have repeated itself because, as eerily prophesized in the verses of Jorge Manrique's poetry found in the dedication, Diego Tavera died three years later in 1560, leaving Venegas wanting for patronage once again and, like the skeleton in the illustration, with his gaze firmly fixed in uncertainty [*In incerto*].

The *Libro*'s new cipher

As the title page states, Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's collection of music was intabulated using a new ciphering method. What then was so novel about Venegas's method and how did it work? The stated literal purpose of the book is thus two-fold: to teach the user how to interpret and use the ciphering code using a particular pedagogical ideology, and to provide a corpus of music in that same code. Venegas's full explanation of the cipher can be found in folio 6*r* of *Libro*

under the heading "Comienza la Declaración de la Cifra" [Here begins the explanation of the cipher], and also in my English translation in *Appendix X*; I summarize the main points of the cipher in what follows.

The first thing that his reader needs to know, according to Venegas, is to be able to count from one to seven and, most importantly, to be able to recognize the symbols in Arabic numerals: what he calls *guarismos*. According to the first Castilian thesaurus, Sebastian de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), *guarismos* refers to the particular characters or symbols used to count by "the Arabs," which he notes are different from the Castilian numbers one would usually see carved in old stone monuments [*piedras antiguas*]; of course what he is describing here is the difference between "Arabic" and "Roman" numerals. Covarrubias himself tells us that the term *guarismo* is a corruption [*corrupción*] of *aristhmo* or *arithmin* (for arithmetic).[28] Using the numbers 1 through 7, Venegas divides his *gamut* into 5 distinct ranges which he calls (from lowest to

[28] I will use Covarrubias's *Tesoro* throughout the present work to define Castilian terms; as the earliest Castilian thesaurus, it is an invaluable source of linguistic historical context. Covarrubias defines *guarismo* as: "la tabla de contar, segun cuentan los Arabes, y con ciertos caracteres, que oy usamos, se presume ser los que ellos nos introduxeron, diferentes de los Castellanos, quales los vemos en las inscripciones de piedras antiguas. Tienen los Arabigos entre las demás figuras el cero, que es o, omicron, vide verb. cero, donde consta no ser este termino Arabigo, ni tampoco la diccion guarismo, porque parece estar corrompido de Aristhmo, que vale cuenta *arithmin*, hoc est a numerandom añadieron despues la silaba gu, y dixeron guarismo corruptamente. Los que quieren sea Arabigo, dizen estar corrompido de algarismo, lengua de los Algarues, ô de los Agarenos." See: Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana,* 1611, BNE R/3925: s.v. *guarismo*.

highest): *regravis* (sub bass), *gravis* (bass), *agudas* (acute), *sobre agudas* (super acute), and *resobre agudas* (post-super acute; see *Figure 6*). The different ranges are distinguishable through typographic markings accompanying the numbers as shown in the treatise itself (*Figure 4*):

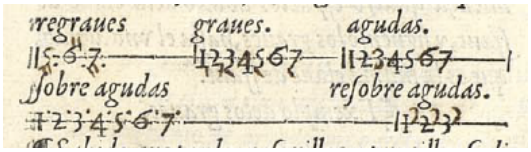


Figure 4. Indication of the five ranges and their corresponding ciphers.

The projection of this ciphering code onto the interface of the three instruments he mentions in the title of the work—keyboard, harp, and vihuela—is shown in a full-page woodcut illustration in folio 9*r*, one of the more beautiful pages of the book (*Figure 5*).

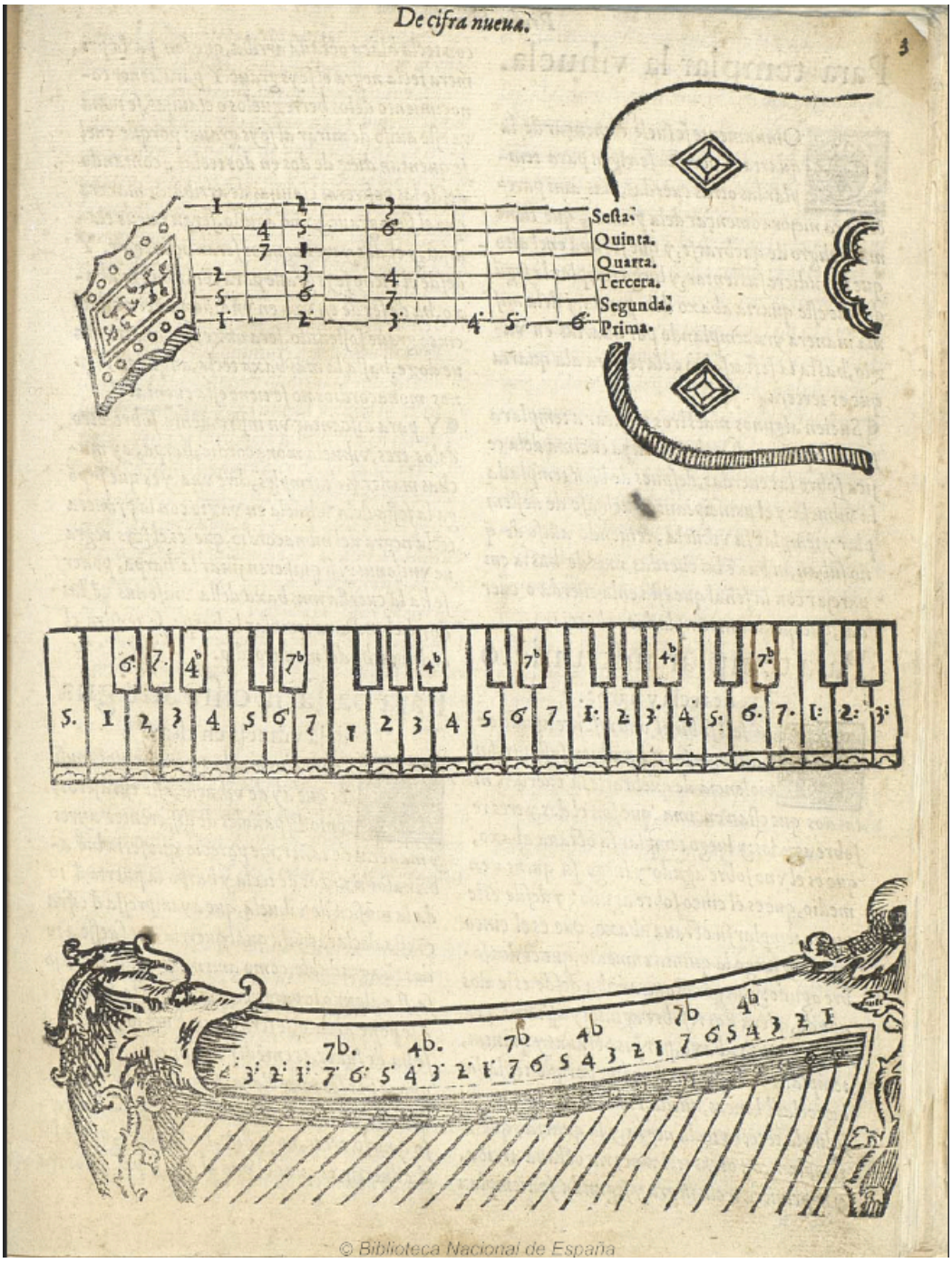


Figure 5. *Folio 9r*: Full-page illustration that shows the mapping of the cipher onto the vihuela, keyboard, and harp (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

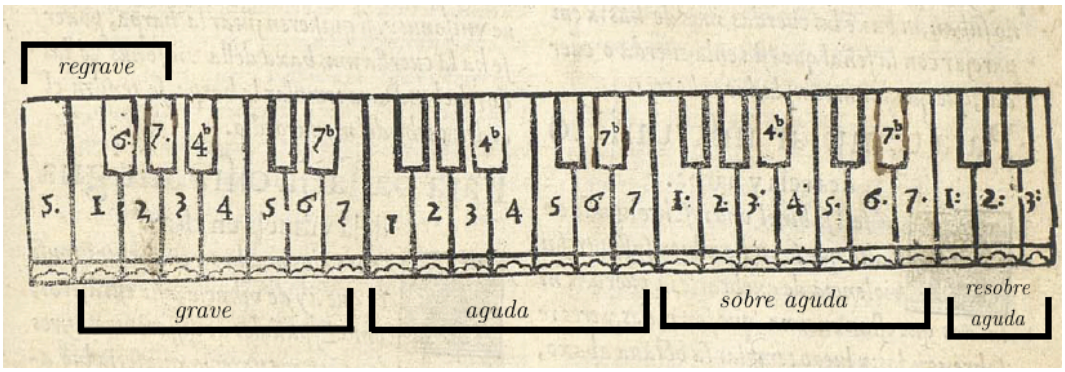
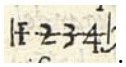


Figure 6. Venegas's five distinct ranges, their position on the keyboard, and the ciphers representing them (note the use of short-octave tuning in the bass).

The ciphers are to be written on individual lines, and Venegas explains that each line of numbers will correspond to a melodic or vocal line of a polyphonic work with the top line of the intabulation corresponding to the melodic line with the highest range (for the keyoard ; therefore, if the ciphered work were a duo, the intabulation would have two lines, if a trio, three, and so forth.

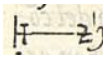
After explaining the melodic aspects of the cipher, Venegas then turns to an explanation of the rhythmic elements of his method. He tells the reader that he will see vertical lines that traverse the horizontal melodic lines, and that these bar lines constitute a measure, and that the measure is exactly that: a discrete space that may be subdivided into beats. This rather esoteric explanation is elucidated further when he suggests that the reader imagine that there are (by default) four spaces between each of the bar lines that align in all voices simultaneously; the rhythmic identity of the numeric ciphers between the bar lines

will be deduced from a combination of both the amount of ciphers in the measure and their position within it. Thus, Venegas explains, if there are four equally-spaced numbers on a melodic line between two bar lines, then that would suggest to the reader that those numbers are each representing a quarter-note (*semimínimas*) as seen in his example:



If there are two numbers, one at the beginning and one in the middle of the measure, then the reader should read them as two half-notes (*mínimas*):

One number at the beginning of the measure and one at the end will be interpreted as a dotted half note (*minima con puntillo*) followed by a quarter-note:



Any measures where note values might change in the middle of the measure, or in measures where there is a large quantity of numbers, confusion is avoided by indications using symbols borrowed from mensural notation. *Figure 7* shows an instance in which a mensural symbol was necessary and placed above the measure to indicate that the two numbers in the middle of the alto line of a four-voiced composition are shorter than the preceding (the letter *p* in the example is a rest, from the Spanish *pausa*).

Figure 7. Venegas's use of a mensural symbol to clarify rhythm in his cipher.

The rhythmic notation of Venegas's method is in fact the element that lacks the most precision; while he explains all the possible ways that he can represent the rhythmic complexities of the music he transcribes, there is a lot of rhythmic uncertainty (or perhaps liberty for the player) in his method.[29]

One of the "perfections" of Venegas's ciphering method, according to his prologue, is that it serves as a two-way coding method for vocal music; the user of the cipher is not only able to convert mensural notation (*canto de organo*) into a ciphered score with all the melodic lines, but sing the cipher directly as if it was a mensural vocal part. This is advantageous for two main reasons: it allows the reader to sing polyphony from the cipher without knowledge of mensural notation,

[29] Robert Judd has written in detail about the notation methods used in the 16th century see: Robert Judd, *The use of notational formats at the keyboard: A study of printed sources of keyboard music in Spain and Italy c. 1500-1700, selected manuscript sources including music by Claudio Merulo, and contemporary writings concerning notations* (Dissertation. Oxford: University of Oxford, 1989). The problem of Venegas's rhythmic notation is treated in more detail in: Cristina Diego Pacheco, "La musique a l'époque de l'empereur. Un nouvel éclairage sur Luis Venegas de Henestrosa et le répertoire pour clavier" in Annie Molinié-Bertrand, ed., *Charles Quint et la monarchie universelle* (Presses Paris Sorbonne. 2001), 65-79.

and it provides a method of musical compression because through the cipher large amounts of music can be reduced to a smaller physical space on the page. This is something of which Venegas is very proud because of its potential to save paper, a costly commodity in 16th-century Spain. Venegas illustrates the space-saving capabilities of his cipher and demonstrates how mensural notation compares to his cipher at the end of his instructions on how to use his method for vocal music (*Figure 8*).

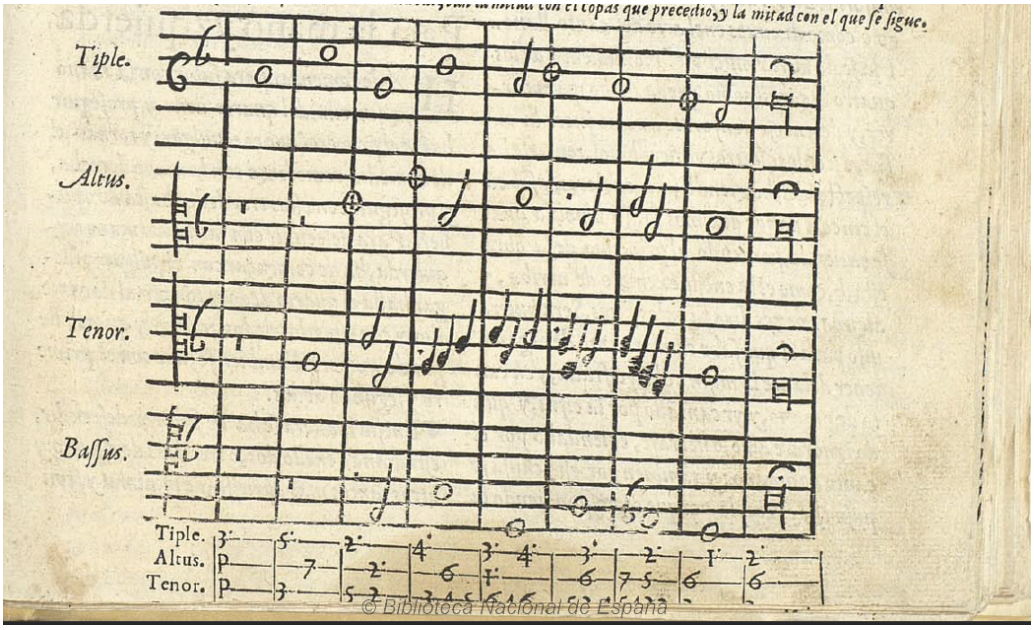


Figure 8. Example of a ciphered reduction provided by Venegas, folio 7*r* (the original has been trimmed at some unknown point, rendering part of the cipher illegible).

Venegas's new cipher in the Spanish context

The reader can gather a lot of information about the *Libro* just from its title: it is for keyboard, harp, and vihuela, and contains several compendia for learning the musical basics of chant and polyphony. But perhaps what is most important for both Venegas and the potential purchaser/user of the books: its novelty. The cipher that Venegas is promoting is new! The reason why this is important is because the *Libro* is trying to stand out among a thriving market of intabulations and methods. Of the intabulation books published during the 16th century, four have the keyboard as the central instrument of performance: Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger* (Lisbon, 1540), Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de Instrumentos* (Osuna, 1555), *Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Arpa, y Vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares, 1557), and Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (Madrid, 1578). Together these books represent almost four decades of innovation and invention around the problem of how to notate music for keyboard. I introduce them here

with the purpose of placing Venegas's ciphering method within the context of 16th-century Iberian ciphers.[30]

Gonçalo de Baena's method, *Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger* (rediscovered in 1991) dedicated to the King of Portugal, Joao III, is the earliest known collection of keyboard music printed in the Iberian Peninsula.[31] The method assigns a series of letters from *a* to *g* to each key of the instrument; this can be seen, in fact, in the principal illustration of the treatise's frontispiece (See *Figures 9a* and *9b*). The use of letters to refer to refer to specific pitches is not the innovation, as this was already in use in the *Lochamer Liederbuch* (ca. 1440).[32] What is new is the way these letters are arranged in a matrix to show pitch, register, duration, and simultaneity, as can be seen in *Figure 10*. This particular method of reducing polyphony to a score (i.e. intabulation) via a matrix is unique to Baena's work.

---

[30] I use the more general peninsular term here, so as to be able to include Portugal in the discussion, as the earliest keyboard cipher we know of to date—Baena's *Arte de tanger*— was printed in that kingdom.

[31] This treatise of which only one copy is known was recently published in a modern edition by Tess Knighton. See: Tess Knighton, *Arte Para Tanger* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2012).

[32] For a new critical and performance edition of the *Lochamer Liederbuch* see: Marc Lewon, *Das Lochamer Liederbuch* (Reichelsheim: Verlag der Spielleute, 2007).

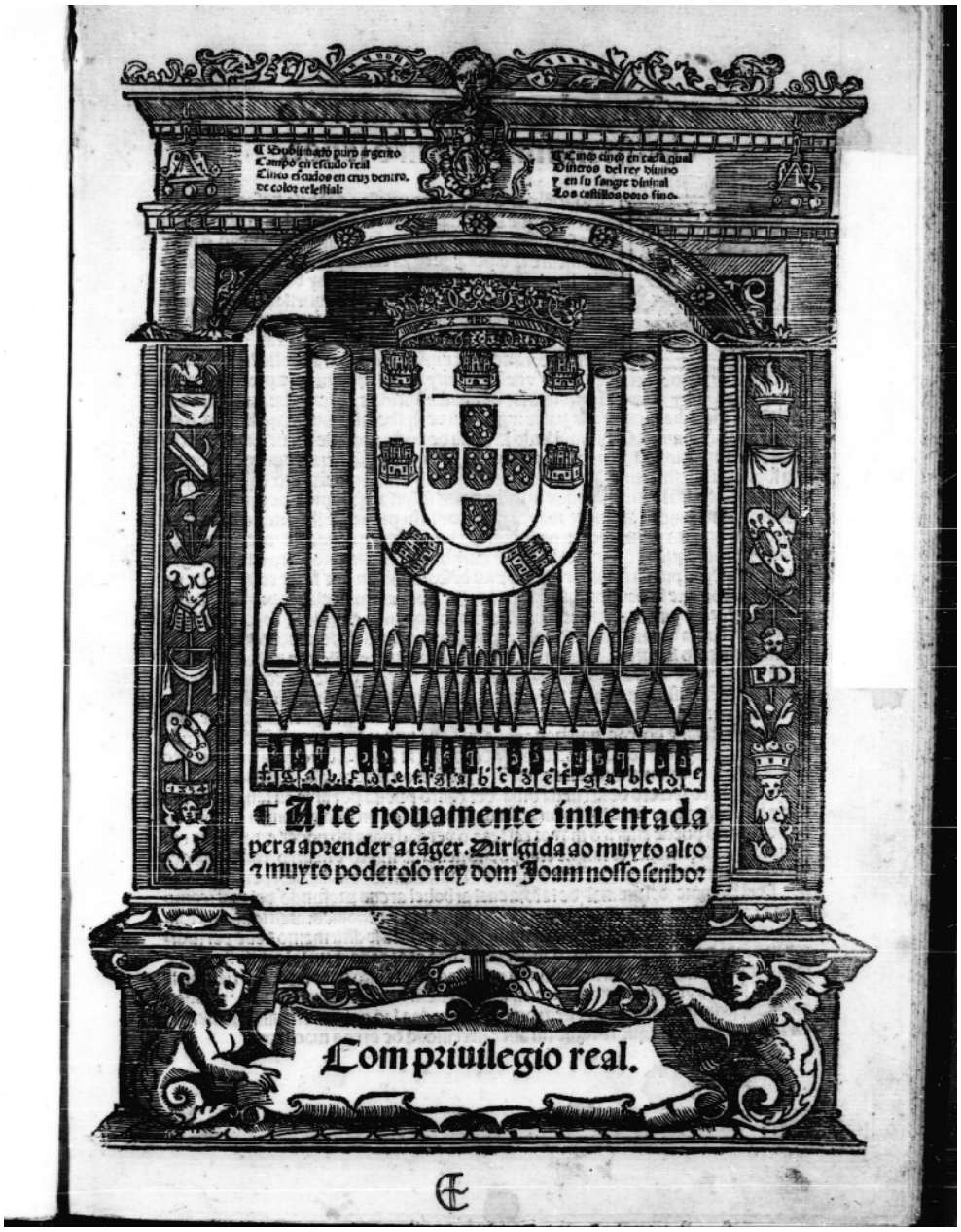


***Figure 9a*:** Frontispiece, Baena's *Arte de tanger* (Real Biblioteca, Palacio Real, Madrid).

Figure 9b. Detail of keyboard, frontispiece, Baena's *Arte de tanger*.

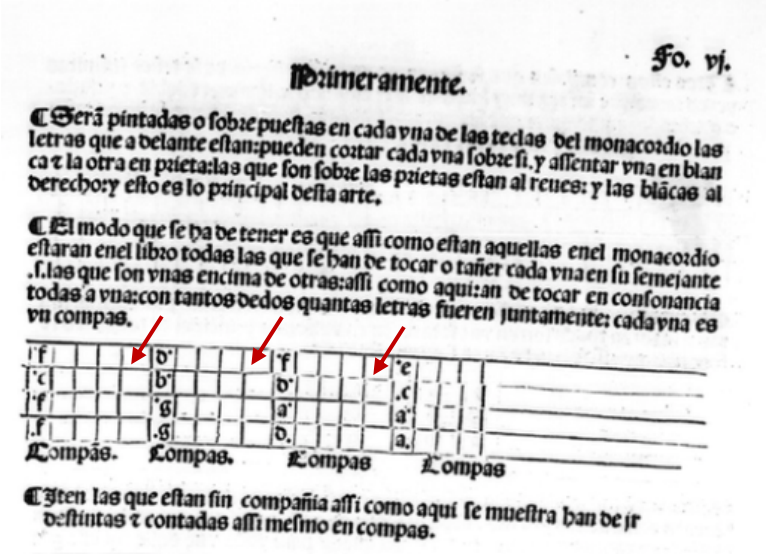


Figure 10. Baena's matrix notation for keyboard, folio 6*r*.

Like Venegas, Baena here capitalizes on the notion of novelty, as his title also advertises the fact that his ciphering method has been newly invented by the author (*"nuevamente inventada"*). Similarly, Baena uses particular diacritics, in the form of dots above or below the letter, to specify register; a peculiarity of Baena's cipher is that he indicates accidentals by using his cipher letters upside-down. The matrix of Baena's cipher is also what determines rhythm; each box is equal to a beat, and measures are indicated by a column of blank boxes that are slightly wider than the others (in *Figure 10*, above, the measures columns are indicated by an arrow). As can be seen in *Figure 10*, this is an awkward solution to the problem of indicating bar lines, and it becomes visually confusing when the

reader is confronted with a full intabulation such as the one shown in *Figure 11*. Rests are indicated by Baena using the Arabic number zero (0).

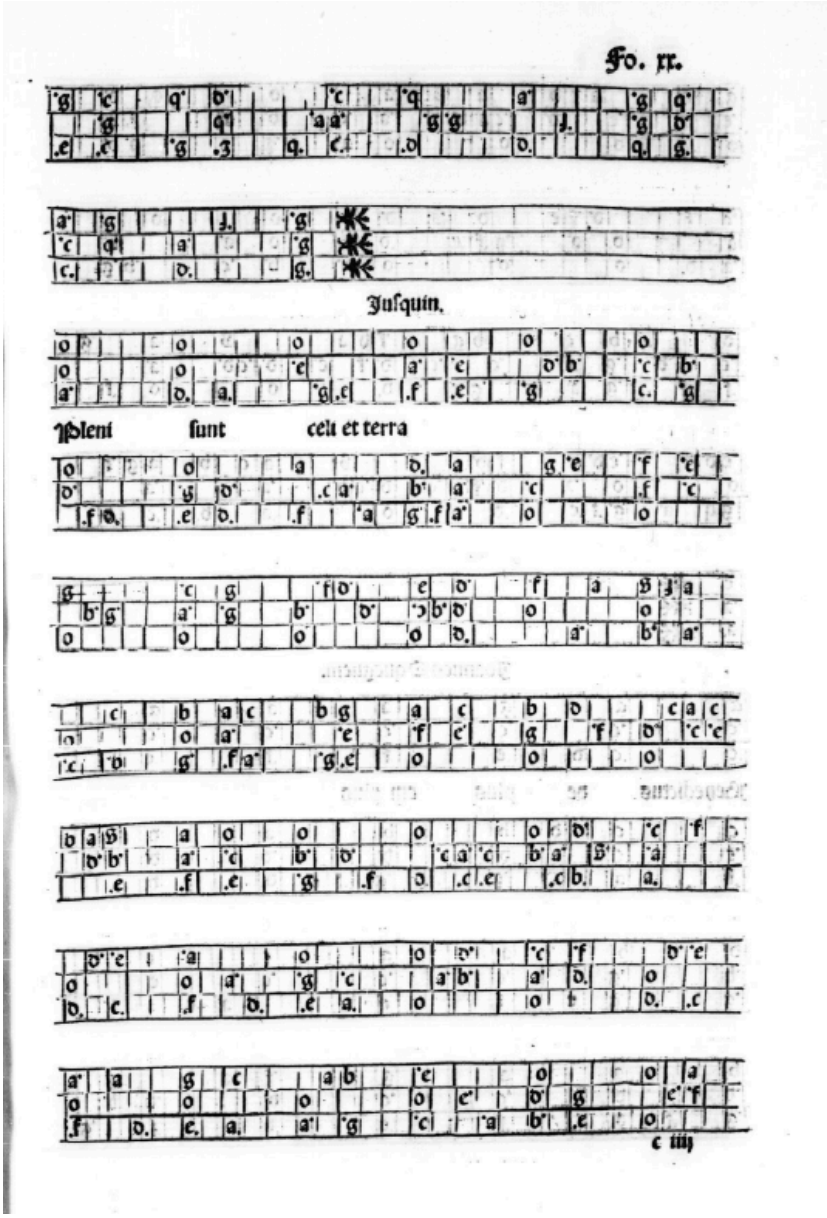


Figure 11. Folio 20*r* of Baena's cipher showing an intabulated mass section by Josquin. Notice the difficulty in identifying the difference between beats (regular boxes) and measure lines (wider boxes).

Bermudo's cipher is very similar to the one invented by Venegas in that it assigns Arabic numerals (*guarismos*) to the keys of the keyboard, which are then organized in a matrix of lines which equal the number of voices (melodic lines) of a given piece (see *Figure 12*).

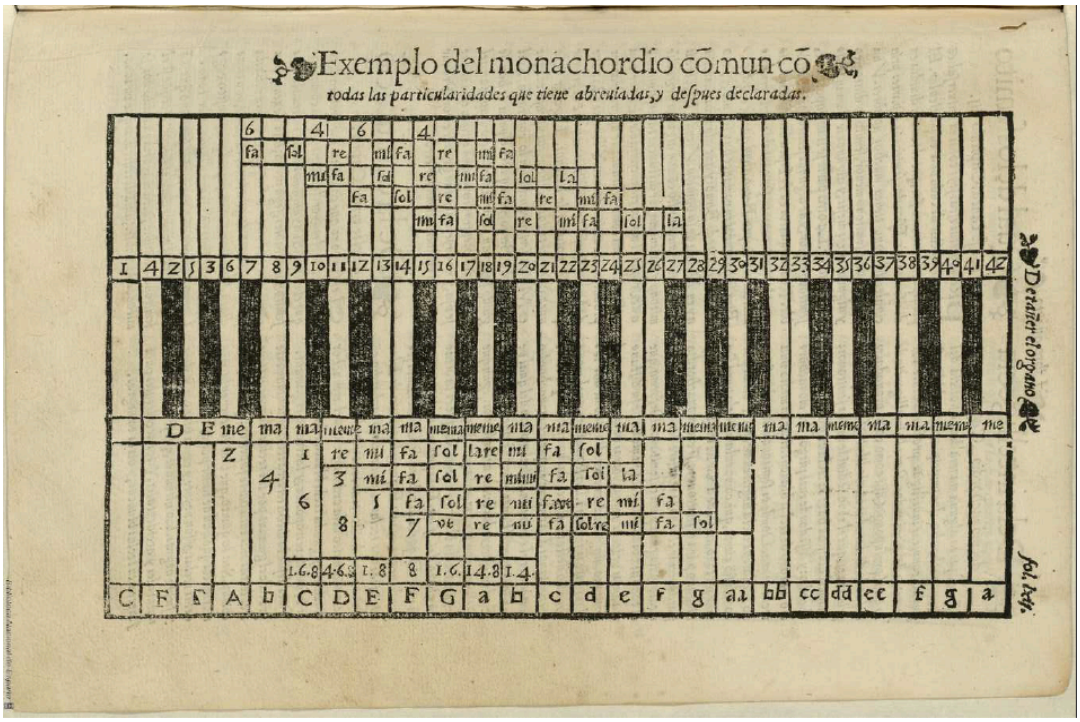


Figure 12. Folio 62r of Bermudo's *Declaración* in which he explains his numeric cipher (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

The main difference between this method of ciphering and Venegas's is that Bermudo chose to number each key of the keyboard (which he calls *monachordio*) individually (including the accidentals) from 1 to 42.[33] In doing this, he errs on the side of specificity but he eliminates the need for diacritics in order to represent pitch range or accidentals. On the other hand, because the keyboard player has to keep in mind what key corresponds to each number from 1 to 42, it becomes rather difficult and confusing, even at times requiring the players to count keys in order to confirm that they are playing the correct notes. This cipher becomes even more visually cumbersome in actuality because it is hard to determine if the ciphers are single or double-digit numbers (that is, determining the difference between 1 1 or 11, or 1 9 and 19). *Figure 13* shows an example of an intabulation using Bermudo's cipher in which he reduces a polyphonic piece to a four-part intabulation (labeled *cantus, altus, tenor, bassus*). Like Venegas's method, Bermudo indicates note values and rhythm by the visual positioning of the ciphers within each measure; unlike Venegas, however, the visual clutter of the numbering system makes Bermudo's cipher much more difficult to read.

[33] It is worth noting that what Bermudo calls the *monachordio común* (common monochord) is likely referring to the clavichord or harpsichord, and thus one can assume that it was common for keyboards of his time (ca. 1555) to have a total of 42 keys, having a range of just over 3 octaves.

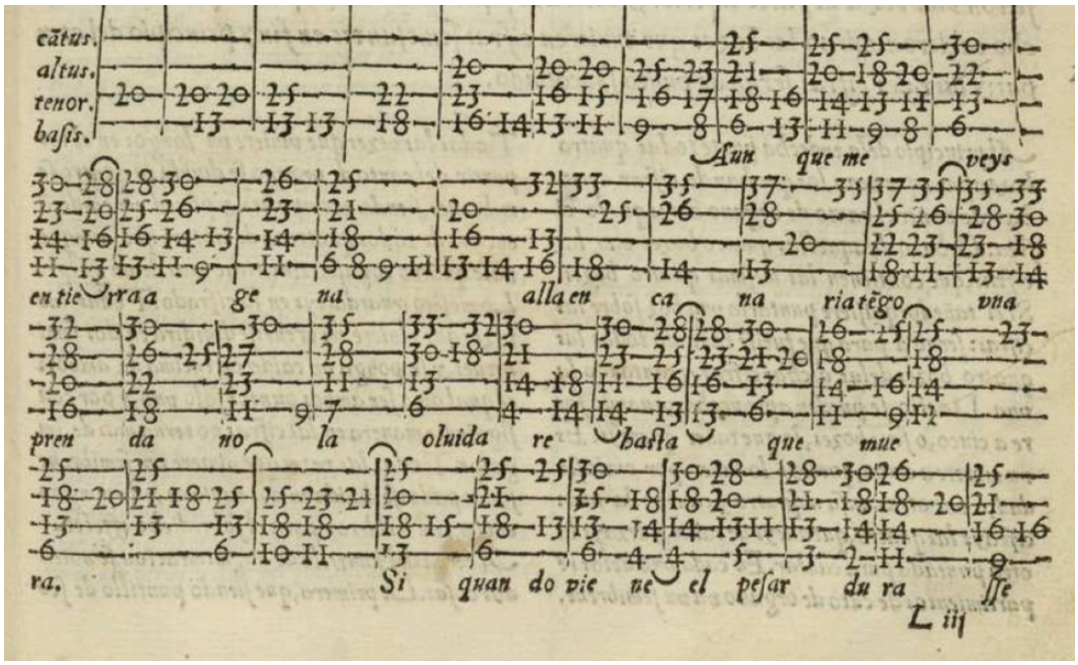
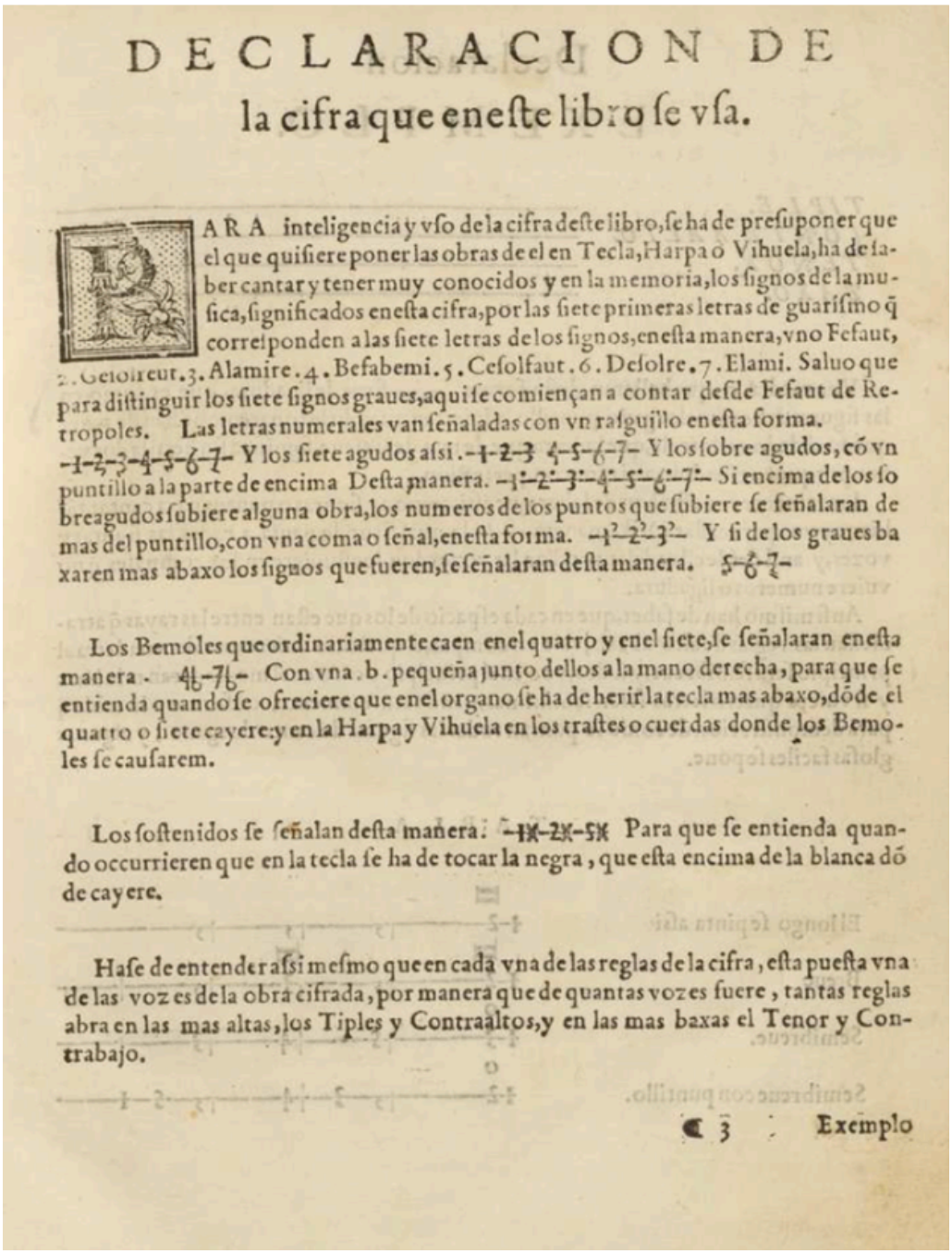


Figure 13. Example of Bermudo's numeric ciphering method, *fol.* 83*r*.

The *Libro de Cifra Nueva* was printed just two years after the publication of Bermudo's *Declaracíon de Instrumentos Musicales*, and Venegas's new cipher could have been referring to Bermudo's recently published method. Venegas's method was a step toward simplification of this type of numeric cipher for keyboard, and he opted, as discussed in detail above, only to use the numbers from 1 to 7, indicating pitch range with diacritics. The success of Venegas's cipher is perhaps most evident in the decision to use his ciphering method to intabulate and publish the complete keyboard works of Antonio Cabezón over two decades later in 1578, as can be seen in *Figure 14*.



DECLARACION DE
la cifra que eneſte libro ſe vſa.

PARA inteligencia y vſo de la cifra deſte libro, ſe ha de preſuponer que el que quiſiere poner las obras de el en Tecla, Harpa o Vihuela, ha de ſaber cantar y tener muy conocidos y en la memoria, los ſignos de la muſica, ſignificados eneſta cifra, por las ſiete primeras letras de guariſmo q̃ correſponden a las ſiete letras de los ſignos, eneſta manera, vno Fefaut, 2. Gelolreut. 3. Alamire. 4. Befabemi. 5. Ceſolfaut. 6. Deſolre. 7. Elami. Saluo que para diſtinguir los ſiete ſignos graues, aqui ſe comiençan a contar deſde Fefaut de Retropoles. Las letras numerales van ſeñaladas con vn raſguillo eneſta forma. -1-2-3-4-5-6-7- Y los ſiete agudos aſsi. -1-2-3 4-5-6-7- Y los ſobre agudos, cõ vn puntillo a la parte de encima Deſta manera. -1'-2'-3'-4'-5'-6'-7'- Si encima de los ſobreagudos ſubiere alguna obra, los numeros de los puntos que ſubiere ſe ſeñalaran de mas del puntillo, con vna coma o ſeñal, eneſta forma. -1''-2''-3''- Y ſi de los graues baxaren mas abaxo los ſignos que fueren, ſe ſeñalaran deſta manera. 5-6-7-

Los Bemoles que ordinariamente caen en el quatro y en el ſiete, ſe ſeñalaran eneſta manera. 4b-7b- Con vna .b. pequeña junto dellos a la mano derecha, para que ſe entienda quando ſe ofreciere que en el organo ſe ha de herir la tecla mas abaxo, dõde el quatro o ſiete cayere: y en la Harpa y Vihuela en los traſtes o cuerdas donde los Bemoles ſe cauſarem.

Los ſoſtenidos ſe ſeñalan deſta manera. -1X-2X-5X Para que ſe entienda quando occurrieren que en la tecla ſe ha de tocar la negra, que eſta encima de la blanca dõ de cayere.

Haſe de entender aſsi meſmo que en cada vna de las reglas de la cifra, eſta pueſta vna de las voz es de la obra cifrada, por manera que de quantas voz es fuere, tantas reglas abra en las mas altas, los Tiples y Contraaltos, y en las mas baxas el Tenor y Contrabajo.

Figure 14. Explanation of the cipher used in Cabezón's collection, 1578 (Biblioteca Nacional de España). This is the same method invented by Venegas two decades earlier and published in his *Libro* (1557).

As far as I can tell, there are two minor differences in the representation of the cipher, and both have to do with diacritics. The first concerns the diacritics used to indicate the highest range (*resobreaguda*), which Venegas indicates by using a colon next to the number (i.e. 2̇); Cabezón's collection changes these to using a comma (i.e. 2'). The second concerns the indication of sharps, which Venegas indicates by using a double slash next to the number (i.e. $2^{//}$), and which is indicated in Cabezón's collection using an X that looks very similar to our modern sharp symbol (i.e. 2^{X}). Despite the fact that Cabezon's collection uses Venegas's intabulation cipher, Venegas is not credited as it's inventor anywhere in the text.

The last collection of ciphered music for printed for keyboard in Spain was Francisco Correa de Arauxo's (1584-1654) *Facultad Orgánica* (*Organ School/Method*).[34] I plan to contextualize this work more fully in a future version of this project that will extend into keyboard practices in the 17th century, I bring it up here because it overlaps with Venegas's *Libro* in four significant ways: (1)

[34] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España R/9279. Francisco Correa de Araujo, *Libro de tientos y discursos de musica practica, y theoríca de organo, intitulado Facultad organica* (Alcalá, 1626).

its printing location, (2) the ciphering system, (3) its didactic format, and finally, (4) its contents.

Like Venegas's *Libro*, Correa de Arauxo's *Facultad* was printed in Alcalá de Henares but in 1626—almost seventy years after Venegas's publication. The fact that it was printed in Alcalá strengthens my argument that the city was an important center of the music printing industry, and more specifically of printing ciphered music for keyboards.

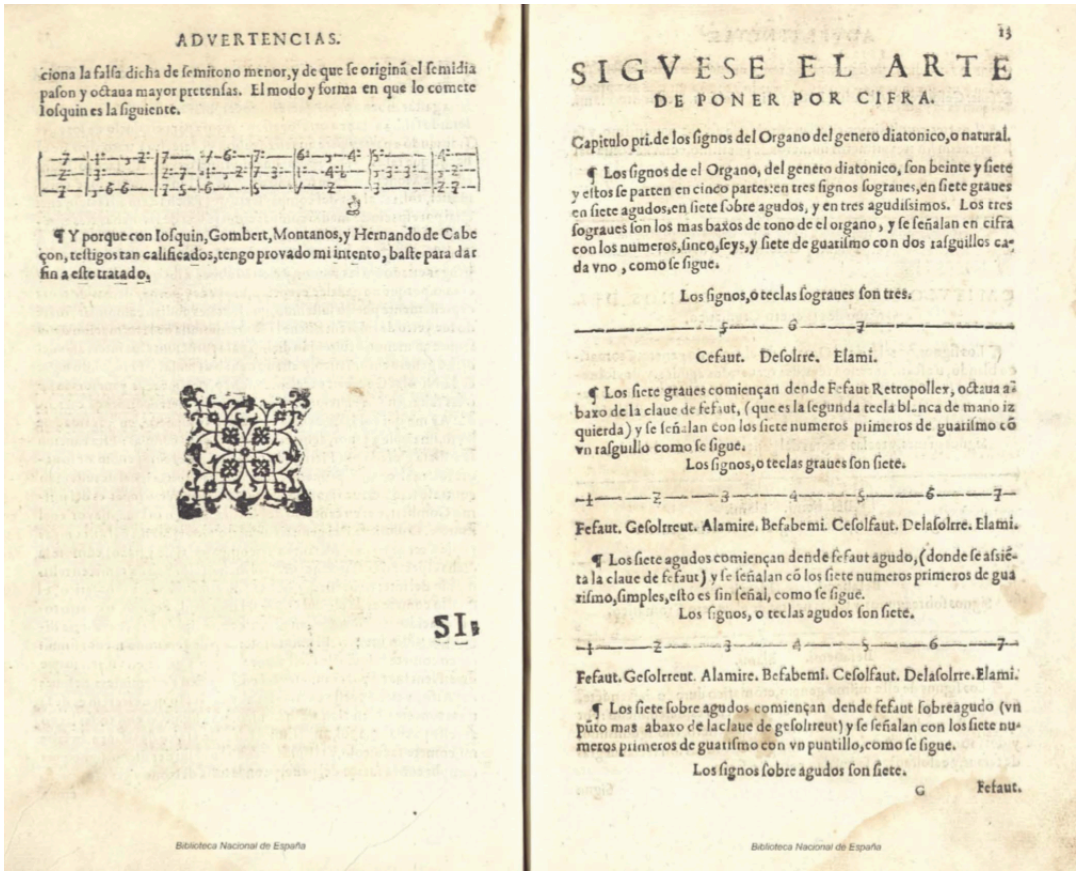
Correa de Arauxo's *Facultad* is clearly concerned with providing his readers with some theoretical foundations, but unlike Venegas, he is more interested in explaining the differences in the genres of music—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic—than in providing the reader with any advice on how to sing plain chant or polyphony, so unlike Venegas, he does not provide an *Arte de Canto* as part of his publication. The reason for this is, surely, that his collection is primarily geared toward teaching how to play music that from its conception was idiomatically for keyboard.

Although the collection is usually referred to by title of *Facultad Orgánica*, the full title of the work is *Libro de Tientos y Discursos de Música Práctica, y Theorica de Órgano, Intitulado Facultad Orgánica* [Book of *Tientos* and Discourses on Practical and Theoretical Music for Organ, titled the Organ School];

from the full title we can deduce that the second purpose of the book was to serve as a collection of Correa de Arauxo's own *tientos*. His 63 *tientos* comprise the bulk of the repertoire in the *Facultad*, which also contains two glossed songs (one by Crequillon and one by di Lasso) as well as a sequence verset and glosses on a plainchant. As I discuss in Chapter 3, the *tiento* was the genre most represented in Venegas's *Libro*, and the contents of Correa de Arauxo's *Facultad* suggest that the popularity of the genre only seems to have increased throught the late 16th and early 17th centuries. This trend indicates to me that—at least in regard to the keyboard—practice shifted away from making literal transcriptions of polyphony, and toward a style that used points of imitation to mimic the polyphonic vocal style of the period.

Lastly, I believe that Correa de Arrauxo's *Facultad* provides compelling evidence of the success and acceptance of the ciphering method invented by Venegas and promoted in his *Libro.* The ciphering system used by Correa de Arauxo (described in fol. 13r) was invented by Venegas and explained in detail in his *Libro*. More specifically, the *Facultad* used the system promoted by Hernando de Cabezón in his *Obras*, which was a slightly adapted version of Venegas's cipher (see above for a description of the few changes made by Cabezón). Although Correa de Arauxo mentioned Hernando de Cabezón as one of the models for his

work (fol. 12v), he gave no credit to him or Venegas as the sources of the ciphering method (see *Figure 15*). This omission notwithstanding, it is clear that Venegas's ciphering method met with great approval from keyboardists, otherwise his system would not have found such longevity as the method used for keyboard notation across different collections for close to seventy years.



ADVERTENCIAS.

ciona la falſa dicha de ſemitono menor, y de que ſe originã el ſemidia paſon y octaua mayor pretenſas. El modo y forma en que lo comete Ioſquin es la ſiguiente.

¶ Y porque con Ioſquin, Gombert, Montanos, y Hernando de Cabe con, teſtigos tan calificados, tengo provado mi intento, baſte para dar fin a eſte tratado.

Biblioteca Nacional de España

13

SIGVESE EL ARTE
DE PONER POR CIFRA.

Capitulo pri. de los ſignos del Organo del genero diatonico, o natural.

¶ Los ſignos de el Organo, del genero diatonico, ſon beinte y ſiete y eſtos ſe parten en cinco partes: en tres ſignos ſograues, en ſiete graues en ſiete agudos, en ſiete ſobre agudos, y en tres agudiſsimos. Los tres ſograues ſon los mas baxos de tono de el organo, y ſe ſeñalan en cifra con los numeros, ſinco, ſeys, y ſiete de guariſmo con dos raſguillos ca da vno, como ſe ſigue.

Los ſignos, o teclas ſograues ſon tres.

5 6 7

Cefaut. Deſolrre. Elami.

¶ Los ſiete graues comiençan dende Fefaut Retropoller, octaua ã baxo de la claue de fefaut, (que es la ſegunda tecla bl.nca de mano iz quierda) y ſe ſeñalan con los ſiete numeros primeros de guariſmo cõ vn raſguillo como ſe ſigue.

Los ſignos, o teclas graues ſon ſiete.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Fefaut. Geſolrreut. Alamire. Befabemi. Ceſolfaut. Delaſolrre. Elami.

¶ Los ſiete agudos comiençan dende fefaut agudo, (donde ſe aſsiẽ ta la claue de fefaut) y ſe ſeñalan cõ los ſiete numeros primeros de gua riſmo, ſimples, eſto es ſin ſeñal, como ſe ſigue.

Los ſignos, o teclas agudos ſon ſiete.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Fefaut. Geſolrreut. Alamire. Befabemi. Ceſolfaut. Delaſolrre. Elami.

¶ Los ſiete ſobre agudos comiençan dende fefaut ſobreagudo (vn pũto mas abaxo de la claue de geſolrreut) y ſe ſeñalan con los ſiete nu meros primeros de guariſmo con vn puntillo, como ſe ſigue.

Los ſignos ſobre agudos ſon ſiete.

G Fefaut.

Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 15: Correa de Arrauxo's *Facultad*, fols. 12v and 13r (Biblioteca Nacional de España). Here we see the explanation of his ciphering method, which is the same used by Hernando de Cabezón and invented by Venegas.

Venegas's *Libro* and the keyboard

Beryl Kenyon de Pascual's 1992 study of early keyboards begins with a clarification of keyboard nomenclature, which can impact how we interpret source material that mentions keyboards, as well as pointing to the diversity of keyboard innovation and technology in the 16th century.[35] In the historical sources that de Pascual analyzes, *clavicordio* was used to designate a plucked keyboard instrument, that is, something akin to the harpsichord; on the other hand what we call the clavichord today was referred to as *monacordio* (or *manocordio*) in early modern Spanish sources. This can cause confusion because the *clavicordio* and the *monacordio* were both strung keyboard instruments and both were similarly housed in the same kinds of square or rectangular cases, so that physical descriptions or pictures are not always adequate to permit confident differentiation between the two types.[36] Kenyon's research also contributes to our understanding of keyboard ownership in 16th-century Spain and varied uses of these instruments as "expensive" and "symbolic" gifts among nobles and rulers,

[35] Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, "Clavicordios and Clavichords in 16th-century Spain," *Early Music* 20.4 (1992): 611–630.

[36] Pascual, "Clavicordios and Clavichords in 16th-century Spain," 611.

even extending to the differences between the instruments manufactured to be played and those strictly to be "looked at."[37]

Throughout his *Libro*, Venegas refers to the keyboard as *Tecla* [key]; this generic designation is surely meant to be broad as to encompass all types of keyboard instruments. None the less, clues in the writing unmistakingly signal that the instrument he had in mind was the clavichord. For instance, the illustration of the keyboard in folio 9*r* depicts a keyboard with 42 keys and a short octave (see *Figures 5* and *6*), two characteristics mentioned by Tomás de Santa María and Juan Bermudo as standard on contemporary clavichords.[38] Venegas's own *Libro* confirms this in the section that instructs the reader on the proper way to tune a strung keyboard instrument (fol. 9v, see Appendix 2, p. 262). Venegas himself had access to a clavichord, as one was listed in the inventory of his patron, Cardinal Juan Tavera, during Venegas's tenure as a member of his household.[39] The earliest mention of a clavichord in a Spanish source dates from 1420 in an

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[37] Ibid., 620.

[38] Bernard Brauchli, Susan Brauchli, and Alberto Galazzo, eds, *De Clavicordio Iii: Proceedings of the Iii International Clavichord Symposium : Magnano, 24-28 September 1997* (Magnano, BI: Musica Antiqua a Magnano, 1997), 37.

[39] In the inventories made of Venegas's patron Cardinal Tavera is found an entry that reads: "*Ytem se tazo un clavicordio del moro de Caragoca, pequeño, en diez ducados con su caxa"* [Item: a small clavichord by the moor of Zaragoza with its case has been appraised for 10 ducats]. See: Roqueta, "Músicos de la corte del Cardenal Juan Tavera," 158.

inventory that listed the musical instruments in the household of the King of Aragón.[40] Although Pascual's research shows that keyboard ownership was overwhelmingly the province of monarchs and other wealthy, high-ranking persons, he does point out that his findings must be nuanced by Pedro Calahorra's research, which yielded a "more bourgeois element of ownership."[41]

Calahorra's study is specific in its geographic focus on Zaragoza, and he uses the sources at the historical archives of Zaragoza to create a panorama of keyboard construction and innovation, their builders, and their use in Spain. However, Calahorra also traces particular "dynasties" of keyboard-building families; particularly salient in his study is his reporting on a keyboard-building "dynasty" of Moorish extraction, the Moférriz family, who built instruments for several members of the Spanish nobility in the late 15th century, including Queen Isabela herself. The entry for the clavichord found in the inventory of Cardinal Tavera (see *fn.* 5) was listed as having been made by the Moférriz builders, which not only links Venegas to one of the most successful Spanish instrument-builders, but also to the clavichord as the instrument of choice for the type of domestic music-making that the *Libro* suggests.

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[40] Brauchli, *De Clavicordio Iii*, 3.

[41] Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La Música En Zaragoza En Los Siglos Xvi Y Xvii* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977), 330-331.

The scholarship of De Pasqual and Calahorra shows that the keyboard—strung keyboards in particular—already had a wide dissemination in 15th-century Spain, having been found in the inventories of princely courts and the households of the elite. This trend was amplified during the 16th century thanks to the arrival from the Low Countries of Charles of Burgundy, where the clavichord was one of the most common domestic instruments.[42] While in his native Burgundy, Charles (who would be crowned Charles V) was given keyboard lessons by Henry Bredemers, who was one of the most important pedagogues of the Clavichord during this period. Bredemers achieved renown for providing keyboard lessons to such key political figures as Phillip the Fair, Isabella of Austria, Eleanor of Austria, and Charles. His legacy was further amplified because he often served as an agent for procuring instruments for his employers and pupils who would in turn take his pedagogical influence—and the keyboards he procured for them—to Germany, Denmark, Portugal and Spain.[43]

[42] Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge: New York, 1998), 52.

[43] Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, 53.

The Brócar printers and the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*

The title page of the *Libro* advertises, in letters that are rather larger than they ought to be, that it was printed in Alcalá de Henares at the printshop of Juan Brócar: "En Alcala. En casa de Ioan de Brocar. 1557." This assertion belies an issue, one that Higiní Anglés did not discuss in his monumental edition: Juan [Ioan] de Brocar died in the first months of 1552. What is the reason for this discrepancy? Why was Juan Brócar's name and printer's mark still being used five years after his death? I believe that some answers to these questions lie in the history of the Brocar family's printing industry.

The family printing business was started by Arnao (Arnaldo) Guillen Brócar, who was born in Aquitane around 1460. By 1490 Arnao had relocated to Pamplona, where he set up a printshop and stayed for about a decade, before relocating to Logroño in 1500. It was in Logroño that Brócar came into contact with the Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija, for whom he would publish a total of 20 works .[44] Antonio de Nebrija was a champion of Liberal Arts education and had come achieved renown in 1492 for codifying the first grammar of a romance language, the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* [Grammar of the Castillian

[44] Julián Martín Abad, *La Imprenta En Alcalá De Henares, 1601-1700.* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1999), 58.

language]. In 1499 Cardinal Cisneros founded the University of Alcalá (more on this topic in Chapter 2 below), and it became one of the leading centers for humanist education in Spain. One of Cisneros major projects was the compilation and printing of the *Polyglot Bible*. Because of his work on grammar and theology, Antonio Nebrija was made part of the advising council for the project; it was likely Nebrija that brought the printer Arnao Brócar to the attention of Cardinal Cisneros. In 1510 at the behest of Cardinal Cisneros, Arnao Brócar moved his printing business to Alcalá de Henares. Brocar was likely lured to the city by Cisneros's offer of making him the official University Printer.[45] While in Alcalá he published works on a variety of subjects, from the liberal arts and pharmacy to translations of Italian humanists, and he was instrumental in the printing and dissemination of works that furthered the theological agenda of Cardinal Cisneros and, by extension, the Spanish Monarchs.

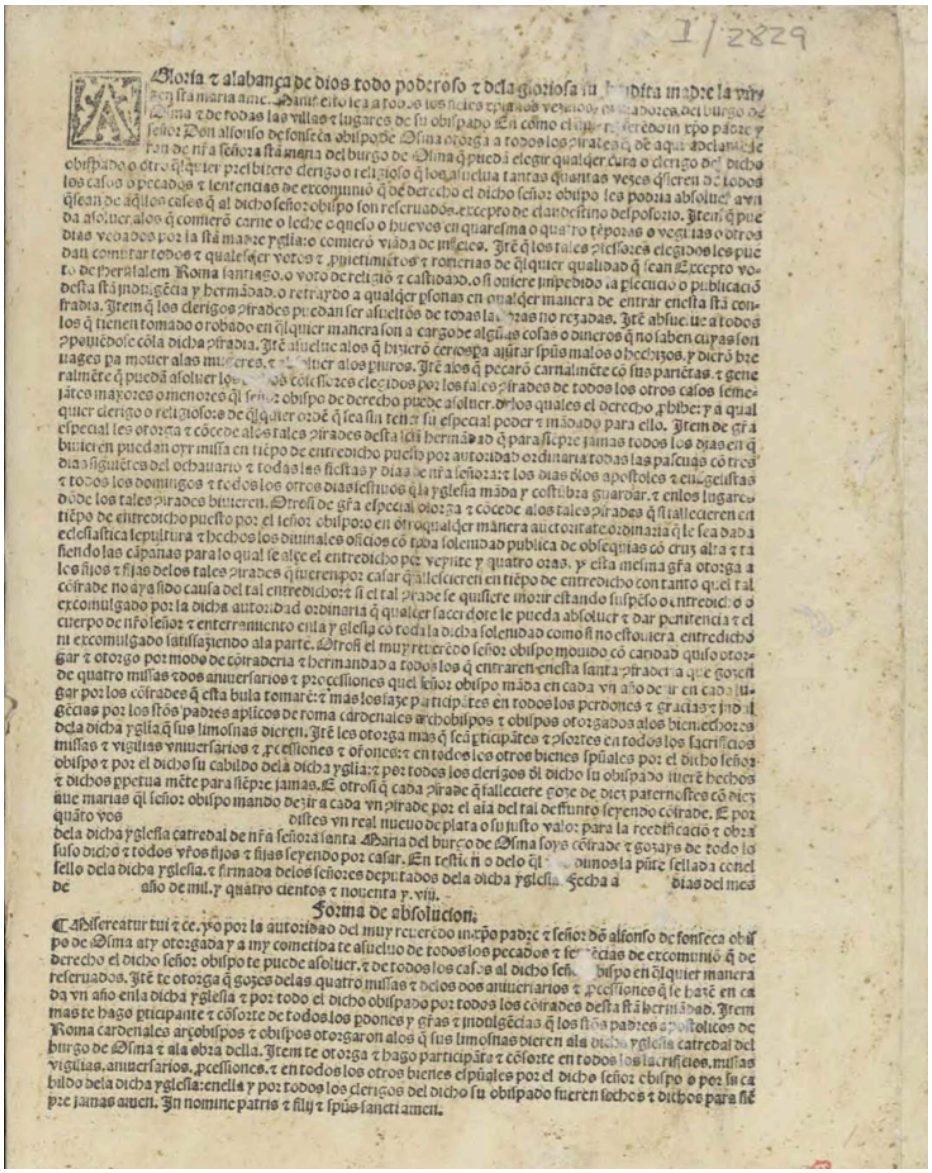
The level of esteem in which the Brócar printing enterprise was held, in both religious and political circles, is evident in the award of the license to print and distribute the Papal Bulls (especially for the Crusades, see *Figure 16*) and in

[45] Martín Abad, "Arnao Guillén de Brocar, honrrado y muy industrioso varón en el arte de imprimir: el de la Biblia Políglota Complutense y sus otros talleres," in *V Centenario De La Biblia Políglota Complutense: La Universidad Del Renacimiento, El Renacimiento De La Universidad*. Gonzalo, Sánchez-Molero J. L. eds., (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Servicio de Publicaciones, 2014), 65.

him having been granted the title of Royal Printer by Charles V.[46] At this death in Alcalá in 1523, Arnao had printed a total of 117 works. Arnao had three children from his marriage to María de Zozoya: Juan Brócar, Pedro Brócar, and María Brócar. He left his printing business to his son Juan, who inherited the title of Royal Printer to Charles V. All of Arnao's children must have been involved in the family business directly or indirectly, and it seems that their place of prominence among printers was solidified through marriage, evident in both his daughter Maria's marriage to Miguel de Erguía—also a printer in Alcalá—as well as Juan's marriage to Francisca de Ángulo—the daughter of Alcalá printer Andrés de Ángulo.[47] It was Miguel de Erguía who succeeded Arnao after his death in 1523.

[46] L. C. de Romero, *Historia De La Imprenta Hispana* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982), 164.

[47] Celia Rodríguez Pelaz, «La ilustración en los impresos de Guillén de Brocar,» *Ondare, Cuadernos de Artes Plásticas y Monumentales*, núm. 17, (Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1998), 437-445.



Gloria t alabança de dios todo poderoso t dela gloriosa su bendita madre la vir
gen ſta maria amen. Sepan quantos esta abtoridad vieren como nos los frayles predicadores del burgo de
Osma t de todas las villas t lugares de su obispado En como el muy reuerendo in xpo padre y
señor Don alfonso de fonseca obispo de Osma otorga a todos los pirates q de aqui adelante se
fran de nra señora ſta maria del burgo de Osma q puedā elegir qualquier cura o clerigo del dicho
obispado o otro qualquier prelbitero clerigo o religioso q los aluelua tantas quantas veces q̄sieren de todos
los casos o pecados t sentencias de excomunio q̄ de derecho el dicho señor obispo les podria absolver avn
q̄sean de aquellos casos q̄ al dicho señor obispo son reseruados excepto de clandestino despoſorio. Item q̄ pue
da absolver alos q̄ comieró carne o leche o quelo o hueves en quaresma o quatro tēporas o vegilias o otros
dias vedados por la ſtā madre yglia: o comieró viāda de mſcies. Itē q̄ los tales pitentes elegidos les pue
dan comutar todos t qualesq̄er votos t pmetimiētos t romerias de qualquier qualidad q̄ sean Excepto vo
to de hierusalem Roma santiago. o voto de religiō t castidad. o si ouiere impedido la plecuō o publicacō
desta ſtā jnuocāciā y hermādad. o retraydo a qualq̄er psonas en qualq̄er manera de entrar en esta ſtā con
fradia. Item q̄ los clerigos pirades puedan ser absueltos de todas las cosas no rezadas. Itē absuelue a todos
los q̄ tienen tomado o robado en qualquier manera son a cargo de algunas cosas o dineros q̄ no saben cuyas son
y pmetēdose cōla dicha pfradia. Itē absuelue alos q̄ hizieró cerca spa ajūtar spūs malos o hechizos. y dicho bre
uages pa mouer alas mugeres. t absolver alos puros. Itē alos q̄ pecaró carnalmēte cō sus parientas. t gene
ralmēte q̄ puedā absolver los cōfessores elegidos por los frayles pirades de todos los otros casos semej
jātes mayores o menores q̄ el señor obispo de derecho puede absolver. de los quales el derecho ꝓhibe: y a qual
quier clerigo o religioso de qualquier orde q̄ sea sin tener su especial poder t mādado para ello. Item de gra
especial les otorga t cōcede alos tales pirades desta dicha hermādad q̄ para siempre jamas todos los dias en q̄
hizieren puedan oyr missa en tiēpo de entredicho puesto por autoridad ordinaria todas las pascuas cō tres
dias siguientes del ochauario t todas las fiestas y dias de nra señora: t los dias de los apostoles t euangelistas
t todos los domingos t todos los otros dias festiuos q̄ la yglesia māda y costūbra guardar. t en los lugares
dōde los tales pirados hizieren. Otrosi de gra especial otorga t cōcede alos tales pirades q̄ si fallecieren en
tiēpo de entredicho puesto por el señor obispo o en otro qualquier manera auctoritate ordinaria q̄ le sea dada a
eclesiastica sepultura t hechos los diuinales oficios cō toda solemnidad publica de obsequias cō cruz alta t ta
ñendo las cāpanas para lo qual se alce el entredicho por veynte y quatro oras. y esta merced gra otorga a
los fijos t fijas de los tales pirades q̄ tuuieren por casar q̄ fallesciere en tiēpo de entredicho con tanto q̄ el tal
cōfrade no aya sido causa del tal entredicho: t si el tal prade se quisiere morir estando suspēso o entredicho o
excomulgado por la dicha autoridad ordinaria q̄ qualq̄er sacerdote le pueda absolver t dar penitencia t el
cuerpo de su señor t enterramiento en la yglesia cō toda la dicha solemnidad como si no estouiera entredicho
ni excomulgado satisfaziendo ala parte. Otrosi el muy reuerendo señor obispo mouido cō caridad quiso otor
gar t otorgo por modo de cōfraderia t hermandad a todos los q̄ entraren en esta santa pfradia q̄ goze
de quatro missas todos aniuersarios t procesiones q̄ el señor obispo māda en cada vn año de ir en cada iu
gecias por los ſtos padres aplicos de roma cardenales arcobispos t obispos otorgados alos bienhechores
dela dicha yglia q̄ sus limosnas dieren. Itē les otorga mas q̄ sea ptiçipātes t pfortes en todos los sacrificios
missas t vigilias aniuersarios t pcesiones t ofonces: t en todos los otros bienes spūales por el dicho señor
obispo t por el dicho su cabildo dela dicha yglia: t por todos los clerigos del dicho su obispado fueren hechos
t dichos ppetua mēte para siempre jamas. E otrosi q̄ cada pirade q̄ falleciere gose de diez paternostres cō diez
aue marias q̄ el señor obispo mando dezir a cada vn pirade por el alā del tal defunto seyendo cōfrade. E por
quāto vos distes vn real nueuo de plata o su justo valor para la reedificacō t obra
dela dicha yglesia catredal de nra señora santa Maria del burgo de Osma soys cōfrade t gozays de todo lo
suso dicho t todos vros fijos t fijas seyendo por casar. En testimō o delo q̄ mandamos la pūte sellada con el
sello dela dicha yglesia. t firmada delos señores deputados dela dicha yglesia. Fecha a dias del mes
de año de mil. y quatro cientos t nouenta y. viij.

Forma de absolucion.

Absereatur tui t cē. yo por la autoridad del muy reuerēdo in xpo padre t señor dō alfonso de fonseca obis
po de Osma aty otorgada y a my cometida te absuelvo de todos los pecados t sentēcias de excomunio q̄ de
derecho el dicho señor obispo te puede absolver. t de todos los casos al dicho señor obispo en qualquier manera
reseruados. Itē te otorga q̄ gozes delas quatro missas t delos dos aniuersarios t pcessiones q̄ le hazē en ca
da vn año en la dicha yglesia t por todo el dicho obispado por todos los cōfrades desta ſtā hermādad. Item
mas te hago ptiçipante t cōsorte de todos los goces y gras t jndulgēcias q̄ los ſtos padres apostolicos de
Roma cardenales arçobispos t obispos otorgaron alos q̄ sus limosnas dieren ala dicha yglesia catredal del
burgo de Osma t ala obra della. Item te otorga t hago participāte t cōsorte en todos los sacrificios. missas
vigilias. aniuersarios. pcessiones. t en todos los otros bienes espūales por el dicho señor obispo o por su ca
bildo dela dicha yglesia: en ella y por todos los clerigos del dicho su obispado fueren fechos t dichos para siē
pre jamas amen. In nomine patris t filij t spūs sancti amen.

Figure 16. Example of a papal bull granting indulgences printed in the Brocar workshop in 1498. (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

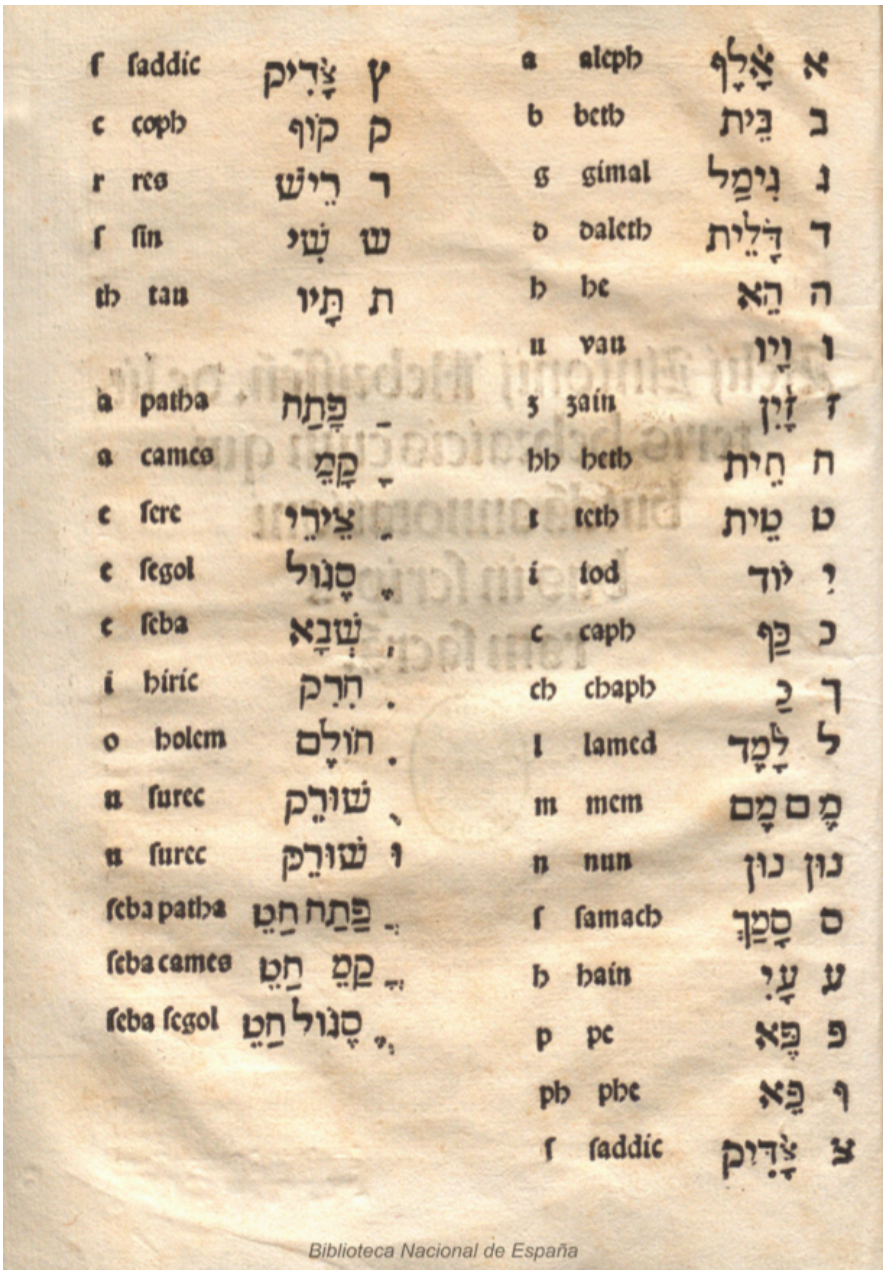


Figure 17. Example of a specialized Hebrew font developed by Arnao Brócar for a printed edition of Antonio Nebrija's book on Hebrew letters and their role in scripture. (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

Juan was involved in the business of printing since his childhood. A contemporaneous account tells the story of how it was Juan de Brócar, still a child, who was sent by his father to present Cardinal Cisneros with a finished copy of the *Polyglot Bible*.[48] It was to be expected that Juan would take over his father's printing business, but it appears that it was his sister Maria's husband—Miguel de Erguía—who took over operations of the press until 1538. After 1538, it appears that Juan Brócar took over the enterprise. Unfortunately, it seems that history was not to be on Juan's side, as the Spanish printing industry in the second half of the 16th century suffered a series of economic setbacks that not only forced the closing of many printing houses, but drove up the prices of the raw materials of the industry—such as paper—that had to be imported from abroad.[49] It was not only materials, but books themselves that were increasingly imported rather than printed locally, which made the industry into an expense not a revenue.[50]

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[48] Martín Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares*, 55-74.

[49] We find evidence of this in the *Libro* itself, which was printed on imported paper, as I have already discussed above (see Chapter 1).

[50] Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 13.

Liturgical books, however, were a printing enterprise for which there appears to have been a strong market regardless of the industry's downturn. For this reason it is no surprise that one of Juan Brócar's earliest commission after having taken over his family business was to print a breviary for Bishop Diego de Ribera in 1539.[51] Further, in the early 1540s Juan Brócar received other liturgical commisions from the Bishop of Logroño, Antonio Ramírez de Haro, and when Ramírez de Haro moved to Segovia he commisioned from Juan Brócar the printing of a manual of the Sacraments according to the use of the Church of Segovia, which Brócar printed in 1548.[52] Bussiness became more complicated for Juan Brócar in 1549 when Bishop Ramírez died and he was ordered to halt all work on outstanding comissions, even though he had already reportedly spent a small fortune (400 ducats) in the preparation of the editions. When Juan Brócar sued the Cathedral Chapter for the damages caused by this unfinished edition, not only did the Chapter refuse to pay, but it issued a statement against the printing industry in general, accusing the industry of leading the faithful astray by the

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[51] Antonio Odriozola, et al., *Catálogo De Libros Litúrgicos, Españoles Y Portugueses, Impresos En Los Siglos Xv Y Xvi* (Pontevedra: Museo de Pontevedra, 1996), 241.

[52] Benito Rial Costas, *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: a Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 351.

many typographical and intellectual errors it promoted.[53] There is no evidence that Brócar was ever paid for this commission when he died in 1552.

These events bear a striking similarity to those experienced by Venegas at the death of his patron Cardinal Juan Tavera (see above), and might help to shed some light on why Venegas's book was printed under Juan Brócar's name after the printer's death. In Juan's will, there are some stipulations about books he had yet to finish printing, to be done at his own expense, and asks that these comissions be finished so as to to fulfill his posthumous duties. Although I have not been able to find any evidence of the *Libro* as being among those books left unprinted, the fact remains that the *Libro* was indeed printed five years after Juan Brócars death and it bears both the name of his Alcala Press (*Figure 18*) and his printer's mark (*Figures 19a* and *19b*).

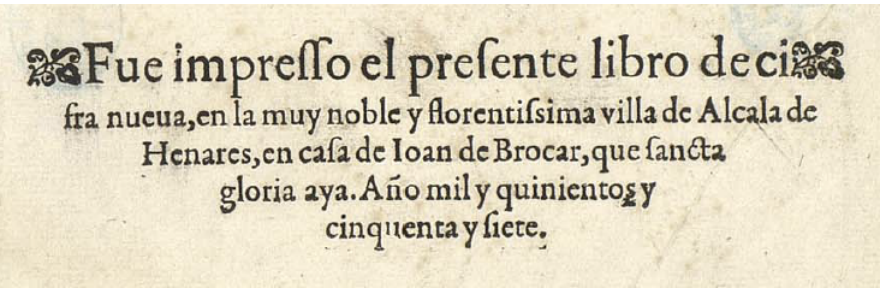
Fue impreſſo el preſente libro de ci
fra nueua, en la muy noble y florentiſsima villa de Alcala de
Henares, en caſa de Ioan de Brocar, que ſancta
gloria aya. Año mil y quinientos y
cinquenta y ſiete.

Figure 18. Colophon in the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* crediting Juan Brócar's printing house in the "very noble and flourishing" [muy noble y florentissima] city of Alacalá de Henares in 1557.

[53] This letter is quoted in Costas, *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe,* 352. The original document by the Chapter can be found in the Segovia Cathedral archive, shelf number H-127.

Figures 19a & 19b. Juan Brócar's printers mark. On the left is the printers mark from a 1546 printing of the literary works of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, done while Brócar was still alive; on the right is Brócar's printersmark found in the *Libro* printed in 1557, five years after his death (notice the differences in the *I.* initial).

Juan Brócar's printer's mark (technically a woodcut print) symbolizes the battle of the soul (represented by the male figure) battling the devil (left) and the flesh (represented by the female figure). Above this allegory is a pair of angels holding a crown, likely representing his position as printer to the Spanish Crown, with banners that read *Legitime Certanti* ("For the one who strives lawfully" or, "justly"); below the crown and banner stands a Patriarchal (double) cross with Juan Brocar's initials *I. B.* (for Ioan Brocar) at either side. While the printer's

marks appear to be identical, a closer look at the side-by-side images reveals one small difference: the I. on the later mark (1557) is significantly different than that of the mark used over a decade earlier (even the period next to the initial is a different style). It is very likely that the smaller I. is a replacement of the original which could have been damaged over time. I believe that this block is otherwise the same, as can be seen in the two small gaps on the border at the bottom of the impressions, which are identical (*Figure 20*).

Figure 20. Bottom frame of Juan Brócar's printer's mark showing the same broken fragments in 1546 (left) and 1557 (right).

As seen above, several commissions were left unfinished by Juan Brocar, and he asks that these works be printed and sent to those who had already paid for them. This means that he had designated an agent (unknown to me to date) to take over his affairs and printing.

But the question is why would Venegas want his book to be published in Alcala de Henares in the printing house of Juan Brócar, even if done posthumously? I believe there are three main reasons for this: (1) Luis Venegas de Henestrosa became acquainted with the Brócar printing enterprise through his patron, Cardinal Juan Tavera, who took over the educational and printing initiatives of his predecessor Cardinal Cisneros, who had a well established relationship with the Brócar printers (see above; also, Chapter 2, for a more in-depth discussion of the University City of Alcalá); (2) the Brócar printers were known for taking on typographically challenging projects, such as the Polyglot bible which, like the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, required the invention and production of new typefaces and layouts; and lastly (3), Venegas's likely wish to have his book printed by the Royal Printer, which would have guaranteed a certain level of prestige and legitimacy to his new method. These reasons alone would have been enough to choose the Brócar printers for this project, even if it meant that the book had to be printed by proxy after Juan's death and all that was needed was the Brócar printer's mark.

Conclusions

In this chapter I present an analysis of the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, the main source for the present project. Through a close reading of the prefatory and dedicatory material of the *Libro*, I elucidate aspects of its production and information about its author that have not been available previously. By cross-referencing the scant sources of information about Venegas with clues found in the text itself, I provide a fuller picture of the *Libro*'s author and his intentions. Venegas was a member of the inner circle of Cardinal Juan Tavera, one the more powerful church figures of his time. This connection allowed him to have access to the printing press: the tightly controlled technology of production that made his book possible. I show that, while the *Libro's* contents might have been collected and ciphered over a long period of time, Venegas sought to publish his *Libro* at a time of need, dedicating his publication to the newly-elected bishop of Jaén, who was the nephew of his former patron. Venegas's timing suggests that he also may have sought to use his book to curry favor with the cleric in Jaén, perhaps hoping to obtain a similar position to that he had held in the late Cardinal's household.

My watermark analysis of the *Libro*, the first undertaken, further strengthens the connection between the Cardinal's household and the work of

Venegas, as the paper used for the printing was from the same maker as that used in the Cardinal's correspondence. Further, watermark analysis shows that the paper used for this print-run was imported, likely from across the Pyrenees, highlighting Spain's dependence on foreign paper imports to sustain its book publishing industry.

My analysis also demonstrates the strong connection between authority and the printing press, showing how the location and reputation of a printing house had a great deal of sway in the process. Venegas chose the house of Brócar as his printer because of its reputation as typographic innovator at the forefront of some of the most important printing projects of the period under the direction of the Church and State. Further, Venegas's treatise required unusually complex fonts and typography.

What begins to crystalize in this chapter is a view of the printing industry as an important arm of the strict control of ideology in 16th-century Spain, and that control depended on a carefully monitored combination of typographic innovation and authority. The *Libro* is thus an example of the effects had on musical practice by that combination of typographic innovation and state control, the end product of which is tasked with giving its reader the tools necessary for the performance of a legitimate and state approved musical ideology.

Chapter Two
The *Libro de cifra Nueva* as pedagogical ideology for keyboard

Surviving evidence shows that there were fourteen books of instrumental music published in Spain during the 16th century (See *Table 1*). Moreover, the first five books of music printed in Spain in the 16th century were in fact books of intabulated music: Luis Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1535/6), Luis Nerváez's *Los seis libros del Delphin* (Valladolid, 1538), Gonzalo Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger* (Lisbon, 1540), Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville, 1546), and Enríquez de Valderrábano's *Libro de musica de vihuela* (Valladolid, 1547).[54] Of the 14 publications of music in the 16th century, 10 are books of music in tablature. While the majority of these nitablature books are published for players of the vihuela,[55] four of the sources deal specifically with playing keyboard through tablature: Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte* (Lisbon, 1540), Juan Bermudo's *Declaración* (Osuna, 1555), Luis Venegas's

[54] Emilio Ros-Fábregas. "Transmission of Non-Iberian Polyphony in Ren. Barcelona," *Early Music Printing and Publishing In the Iberian World,* ed. Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (Kassel: Edition Reichenberg, 2006), 329-330.

[55] Luis Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1535/6), Luis Nerváez's *Los seis libros del Delphin* (Valladolid, 1538), Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville, 1546), and Enríquez de Valderrábano's *Libro de musica de vihuela* (Valladolid, 1547), Diego Pisador's *Libro de música* (1552), Fuenllana *Orphénica lyra* (1554), and Daza *El Parnasso* (1576).

Table 1. Books of Intabulations Printed in the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th Century

Author	**Title**	**Date**	**Printing Location**	**Instrument**
Luis Milán	*El Maestro*	1535/6	Valencia	Vihuela
Luis de Nerváez	*Los seis libros del Delphin*	1538	Valladolid	Vihuela
Gonzalo de Baena	***Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger***	**1540**	**Lisbon**	**Keyboard**
Alonso Mudarra	*Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela*	1546	Seville	Vihuela
Enríquez de Valderrábano	*Libro de musica de vihuela*	1547	Valladolid	Vihuela
Diego Pisador	*Libro de Musica*	1552	Salamanca	Vihuela
Miguel de Fuenllana	*Libro de música para vihuela intitulado Orphenica Lyra*	1554	Seville	Vihuela
Juan de Bermudo	*Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales*	1557	Osuna	Mostly theory. Discusses Keyboard, Harp and Vihuela tablature
Luis Venegas de Henestrosa	***Libro de Cifra Nueva***	**1557**	**Alcalá de Henares**	**Keyboard (vihuela and harp)**
Esteban Daza	*Libro de música de cifras para vihuela, intitulado El Parnaso*	1576	Valladolid	Vihuela
Antonio de Cabezón	***Obras de musica para Tecla, Harpa, y Vihuela***	**1578**	**Madrid**	**Keyboard (vihuela and harp)**

Libro de Cifra Nueva (Alcalá de Henares, 1557), and Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de Música* (Madrid, 1578). These books are not only repositories of music for instruments but sources of pedagogical practices and information that shed light on how instrumental music was taught in Early Modern Spain.[56] This chapter focusse on the first of the three major sections in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (Alcalá, 1557) with the aim of analyzing its pedagogical ideology and content, contextualizing that pedagogical content within the tradition of printed books of music tablature in 16th-century Spain and providing evidence of the circumstances—cultural and political—that shaped the *Libro*'s content and organization.

As one of the earliest sources of intabulated music for keyboards in Spain, the *Libro de cifra Nueva* is a remarkable source of keyboard practice in Early Modern Spain; for that reason alone, it merits a close re-evaluation, particularly of the pedagogical material included as the first section of the book. What did Venegas himself think was the purpose of his publication? Venegas's intentions become clear in the *Libro*'s prose directed to the reader; the *Libro* contains two sections with similar aims but very distinct tones: the *Foreword* and the *Prologue.*

[56] "The Spanish vihuela and keyboard collections are not mere miscellanies: they were carefully planned as important manuals of musical pedagogy, and they are valuable didactic tools today." Louise L. Stein, "Spain 1530-1600," *European Music, 1520-1640,* ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 454.

The *Foreword* has a defensive, almost reactionary, tone which makes one (as a reader) wonder who Venegas had in mind as the subject of his observations. From the beginning his statements focus on the novelty of his ciphering method; he immediately states that the very novelty of his ciphering system is enough for some experienced musicians to slander and diminish the merits contained in his publication. Venegas states that because certain musicians had to invest a great deal of time and effort in gaining the secrets of the trade they might scorn the facility with which the user of his book might grasp the rudiments of musical practice. Further, Venegas takes the moral high ground in his rebuke of this sort of musician, calling them uncharitable and fake, and claiming that this attitude in fact goes against the laws of God.[57] One of the more curious criticisms leveled against the *Libro*, according to Venegas himself, is the concern of some musicians that the musical profession might lose its prestige because of more amateurs and *diletantes* having access to information about musical practice, which was previously kept within the private (and more controlled) relationship of student and teacher. This he dismisses as nonsense, because his opinion is that the more people know about music theory and its practice, the more the discipline will be respected and understood.

[57]Venegas, *Libro de Cifra*, fol. *2v.*

> "*Aunque por ser cosa nueva esta cifra, será agradable (muy amado lector) no dejo de temer que la gran facilidad que tiene, causa, para que los mejores músicos la calumnien y tengan en poco, porque como ellos gastaron tanto tiempo, y passaron tanto trabajo en alcanzar lo que saben, y vean que por esta via, se ataja mucho camino: ser les ha desabrido la manera deste guisado specialmente a los que están faltos de charidad del aprovechamiento de sus próximos: lo cual demás de ser contra la ley de Dios, es contrario alo que ellos pretenden, que es aventajarse de los otros musicos, porque mucho mas sabra en poco tiempo con ayuda de esta cifra el que mas adelante esta en el instrumento, que el que queda atrás en mucho.*"
>
> Although this cipher is new and will be amiable (dear reader), I still fear that its great ease will give occasion for some great musicians to slander and demean it when they see that it provides a shortcut, because they have invested so much time and labored so much to achieve what they know. The ease of this method will be particularly distasteful to those who lack charity towards the advancement of others : which, besides being against the Law of God, goes against what they aspire to, which is the advancement of other musicians, since much more will be learned in a short time with the aid of this cipher, for those who are more advanced in the knowledge of music, than for those who lag greatly behind.

The most sardonic, almost comical rebuke to his imagined detractors is also the best advertisement for his ciphering system: "And well, life is short, so one is wise to look for ways through which one may learn a great many things in the shortest

amount of time (which is precisely what is possible with my cipher.)"[58]

In contrast to the "Foreword to the Reader," where Venegas defends the merits of his book in a kind of tongue-in-cheek diatribe against his detractors, the "Prologue and Rationale" section of the book places the methodology of his publication within the greater discussion of the merits of music, highlighting its pride of place among the Liberal Arts. He does this with the standard scholastic maneuver of appealing to "graves autores"—serious authors—to support his claims. He states that the importance of his book lies in providing instruction in music, an important part of a good moral and spiritual instruction because: (a) music was held in the highest esteem by the ancients among all the Liberal Arts; (b) music helps avoid the perils of vice and laziness through the pleasantness of its practice; and (c) the music contained in his book may be used in divine worship, whether in private devotion or at the mass; this—he says—is particularly important because there is a dearth of good musicians to play during the divine office. He then enumerates the contents of his book, organizing them by genre:[59]

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[58] "Y pues la vida es breve, sera cordura buscar maneras, para que en poco tiempo, se vea, y se sepa mucho (lo qual se haze por esta cifra.)" *Libro* fol. *4r.*

[59] Research has shown that one of the first manuscripts in Spain to show an impetus toward organization by genre, number of voices, and musical function (suggesting a pedagogical use) is Barcelona Ms. 5. This thread will be taken up with more detail in Chapter 3. For a detailed discussion of Barcelona Ms. 5 see: Kenneth Kreitner, "Spain Discovers the Mass," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Volume 139, Issue 2, (2014), 261-302.

We know from the Authorities that the Liberal Arts are conducive to Virtue, and thus from the name *liberi liberorum* (which means sons/offspring[60]) we get the term liberal art, because they should be learned at a young age. Among the Liberal Arts, which are: Music, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astrology, Music was held in higher esteem by the Ancients. […] Seth reveals to us the importance of this Liberal Art, which frees some from vice and sloth, so pleasant is its practice, which reveals new and ever-increasing riches; although I cannot deny that it also harms many through their own fault since an effect is always contingent on the subject [person]: for if music finds one in mortal sin, it augments that sin, and if in a state of grace, more grace shall come of it, for music is very conducive to prayer and to lift the spirit toward that composer who organized creation in concord [harmony] and music.[61] Given that there is such a dearth of players [*tañedores*] with which one might serve in Solemn Office for the service of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist and divine worship, and out of the compunction not to bury these small musical talents which God has granted me, it seemed to me worthwhile to publish this method of singing and playing, compiling many works by diverse authors, for both keyed instruments and *vihuela*, of which I have chosen and intabulated so many works, that to be able to fit them all, I have organized them in the following manner, which I will enumerate, to please those who are interested. There are three *diferencias* for the eve of several Feast Days: for the feast of Our Lord, for the feasts of the Virgin, his mother, and for the feasts of The Saints. In the book of *Matins* there are also three types of *diferencias* for Matins; and in the book of the three types of masses (as above) I have set *Introits, Graduals, Alleluias, Offertories, Preces,* for the feast of Our Savior and Our [*fol. 3v.*] Lady, and some

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[60] *Liberi* can mean both "free" (as in the education of free citizens) and "children;" Venegas seems to use the definition that most conveniently fits his argument.

[61] This sentence echoes the account of the creation of the World's Soul found in Plato's *Timaeus,* where harmony and musical ratios play an essential part in the creation of the Cosmos. See: Plato, and Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975).

> Saints, some easy examples of three-voice counterpoint over a plainchant to be sung or improvised[62] in the Mass. There are also *Motets* for every *Offertory* according to the feast.

The treatise is divided into three main sections: the first deals with the basics of chant theory and polyphony, the second is the explanation of the new cipher, and the third is the collection of music intabulated using his new cipher. The inclusion by Venegas of a vocal treatise as part of his book of intabulations is unique among the three keyboard books published in the Iberian Peninsula during the 16th century, as neither Antonio Baena's *Arte para Tanger* (Lisbon, 1540) nor Antonio Cabezon's *Obras de musica para Tecla* (Madrid, 1578) contain any material on vocal practice. In fact, the inclusion of this treatise on vocal practice is touted as one of the selling points in the title page (see *Figure 21*), which reads:

BOOK OF THE NEW CIPHER
For Keyboards, Harp, and Vihuela, in which
the arts of **Plainchant and Polyphony are taught succinctly, along with some advice on Counterpoint**

[62] Improvising is a skill to which Venegas refers to very often; it is clear that it was a required skill for church and professional musicians, but the extent to which the musical *amateur* was successful at this is unclear. Teaching improvisation techniques might be one of the salient benefits of his highly formulaic discussion of *counterpoint*.

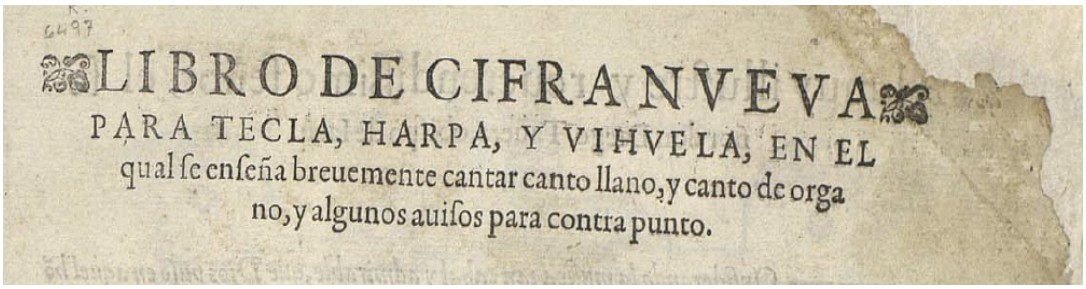
LIBRO DE CIFRA NVEVA
PARA TECLA, HARPA, Y VIHVELA, EN EL
qual ſe enſeña breuemente cantar canto llano, y canto de orga
no, y algunos auiſos para contra punto.

Figure 21: Title of the *Libro de cifra nueva*

What is the purpose of this primer on vocal music? And, what function does it play in the pedagogy of the keyboard in 16th-century Spain? The first section of the text after the prefatory remarks is indeed dedicated to learning the basics of plain chant; the section title, "*Bastante compemdio, para saber la practica del canto llano, sin pasar por la confusion y prolixidades de la mano*" [fol. *3v*], in itself reveals the real aim of the primer: the learning of *just enough* ["*bastante*"] chant theory, without the confusion and complexities of the Guidonian Hand ["*la mano*"], which was the default teaching aid for chant theory.[63] The schematic organization of Venegas's singing treatise can be seen in *Table 2* below.

[63] For on the Guidonian Hand as a tool for learning vocal practice see: Susan Forscher Weiss, "Disce Manum Tuam Si Vis Bene Discere Cantum: Symbols of Learning Music in Early Modern Europe," *Music in Art* 30.1/2, (2005), 35-74. On Guido D'Arezzo more broadly, see: Stefano Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory: Guido of Arezzo between Myth and History,* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Table 2. Schematic organization of the Libro's treatise on vocal music

Theoretical Section

A. Chant Theory
- a. Solmization syllables, clefs used in Chant, and singing exercises for the beginner
- b. mutations

B. Polyphonic theory
- a. Clefs used in polyphony
- b. Introduction to mensural notation and rest equivalents
- c. On Ligatures
- d. On Proportions
- e. Measuring polyphony

C. Counterpoint
- a. Rules of written counterpoint
  - i. description of consonances and dissonances (including compound intervals)
  - ii. types of consonances permitted for beginning and ending counterpoint
- b. Concerted [improvised] Counterpoint

The first subsection is framed within the discipline of plainchant. Venegas tells the reader:

> The first thing that a beginner ought to learn (and be able to recite from memory) is *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* and descending, *la sol, fa, mi, re, ut* and which notes fall on spaces and which fall on lines, and that from a space to a line is a tone, and from line to space

> another. Then, they ought to know that there are two clefs in plainchant, and that the clef that has three dots is called *ffaut*, and the clef that has two dots is *csolfaut*.[64]

This statement makes clear the importance of memorization as a type of embodied knowledge that is different from the use of the Guidonian Hand, the most common at mnemonic device for solfege at the time, but one which Venegas wanted to avoid using as he thought it only caused more confusion. Then Venegas recommends that the student practice descending and ascending scales, after which are introduced intervals, and, perhaps the most difficult concepts so far: hexachord mutation [*mutanzas*]. This, Venegas declares, gives the student a compendium of all the important concepts necessary for understanding and singing plainchant [*canto llano*] without the complexities of the Guidonian Hand [*sin passar por la confusion y prolixidades de la mano*].

The second subsection introduces the student/reader to the basic concepts of polyphony [*canto de organo*], starting with a discussion of the written note figures [*maxima, longa, breve*, etc.] their lengths, and their corresponding rests; this is followed by a brief discussion of what is a beat and how to count it, before

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[64] *"Lo primero que ha de saber el principiante (y muy de coro) es, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la y decendiendo, la sol, fa, mi, re, ut, rezado, y que punto esta en espacio, y qual en regla, y que de espacio a regla es un punto, y de regla a espacio otro. Luego entienda que ay dos claves en el canto llano, y que la que tiene tres puntos, se nombra de ffaut, y la que dos de csolfaut."* Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. *4v*.

moving on to describing and defining ligatures and how to sing and count them. The section on polyphonic theory ends with an explanation of proportional music (i.e. subdivisions of 3) and how this might be notated.

The third and last sub-section of the theoretical portion of the treatise is dedicated to the art of counterpoint. Venegas himself tells the reader why counterpoint is important and its function within the context of his treatise:

> Knowledge of counterpoint allows you to know the consonances that are possible on the instrument; also, one must know how to resolve dissonances. Further, counterpoint allows you judge whether an intabulated work has errors or not.[65]

It is important to note the connection that Venegas makes between counterpoint and instrumental practice by framing it as an essential way to get to know what is possible to play on an instrument, in this case the keyboard. The section ends with a discussion of what Venegas calls "concerted counterpoint" [*contrapunto concertado*], which refers to the practice of improvising counterpoint.[66] His

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[65] "Para que uno sepa las consonancias que puede tocar en el instrumento, y como ha de huyr las discordancias, y conocer si esta una obra de cifra errada, o no." Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. *6r*.

[66] On the practice of teaching improvised counterpoint in 16th-century Spain see: Giuseppe Fiorentino, "Con la ayuda de nuestro señor: Teaching Improvised Counterpoint in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas eds., *Iberian Early Music Studies 1: New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2015), 356–79.

pedagogical approach to this concerted counterpoint is curious because he gives the reader in essence a sort of formula for making perfect counterpoint by knowing exactly what consonances harmonize each of the notes of a *cantus prius factus*. The section ends with an extended discussion of the unchanged puerile voice, the main concern here being the difference between written and sounding pitch, as the unchanged voice will sound an octave above the written pitch; this is a crucial concept for his counterpoint formula, for it will help to avoid any errors in voice-leading. He concludes his remarks on plainchant and polyphonic theory with a telling statement that unequivocally situates his treatise within the tradition of *musica practica*: "all of this I have learned and confirmed in practice" [*de la qual materia al exercicio dello me remito*]. This reveals the main purpose of this theoretical section of the book: an introduction to enough [*bastante*] music theory as would be required to intabulate and play vocal music at the keyboard through the use of his new notation cipher. This emphasis on musical practice (and not speculation) punctuates all aspects of Venegas's *Libro* and evinces the merit of having a treatise on vocal practice as the introduction to his book of intabulations for keyboard. From learning to sing the student/reader gains the basic concepts necessary for instrumental practice.

Keyboarding Song: the *Libro de cifra nueva* as *Arte de canto*.

Scholarship has shown that during the 16th century, Spain saw an increasing number of publications in the genre of *Artes de…* (The Art of…); these short books were intended as introductions to the rudiments of a wide array of topics—how to play chess, how to pray, how to die—and were generally aimed at a wide audience, as suggested by their unusually large print runs.[67] *Artes de Canto*, sometimes also referred to as *Súmulas de Canto*, are small-format printed books which organize and summarize the main concepts of chant theory; occasionally they also contain the rudiments of mensural notation. These *Artes* were used as part of the curriculum for teaching beginners the rudiments of music, so it is not surprising that between 1492 and 1626 there were 38 of these treatises published in Spain;[68] several of these *Artes* were reprinted more than once especially in University towns, which suggests a strong pedagogical connection to the humanist liberal arts curriculum in Renaissance Spain, a point to which we

[67] Tess Knighton, "Libros de Canto: The ownership of Music Books in Zaragoza." *Early Music Printing and Publishing In the Iberian World*, ed. Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2015), 215-239.

[68] See shortlist of published books of Artes de Canto in: Ascención Mazuela-Anguita, "Artes de Canto and Music Teachin in the Renaissance Iberian World," *New Perspectives On Early Music In Spain*, ed. Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fabregas (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2015), 340-355.

return below.[69] Recent scholarship on the use and impact of *Artes de canto* in 16th-century Spain has yielded three major conclusions that are helpful in understanding their contribution in the pedagogy of music: (1) that they respond to a trend toward brevity and concision for the purpose of optimizing learning time; (2) that they reflect a shift in focus in the pedagogy of music toward practice instead of speculative theory; and (3) that—although *Artes de canto* focus on the rudiments of singing—they were the standard text for teaching the rudiments of music practice at all levels.[70]

If we consider the first section of Venegas's book an *Arte de Canto*, then we must ask what this genre of didactic manuals contributed to keyboard practice. James Haar's scholarship has shown that:

> playing 'genteel' instruments, especially keyboards and the lute, was an instruction-aided goal for aristocratic amateurs in what was otherwise a professional and definitely and non-aristocratic calling. All or even many children were taught to play an instrument. By comparison, a much larger number learned to sing; it is not too

[69] Both Bermudo's *Declaracion* (1555) and Venegas's *Libro* (1557) were published in the university towns of Osuna and Alcalá de Henares, respectively.

[70] Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, *Artes De Canto En El Mundo Ibérico Renacentista: Difusión Y Usos a Través Del Arte De Canto Llano (sevilla, 1530) De Juan Martínez*, (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2014), 89.

> much to say that instruction of the young in music centered on singing.[71]

In what follows, I show that—as Haar suggests—children and beginners were indeed much more likely to learn how to sing *first,* and this was an indispensable first step in learning to play the keyboard. Singing plainchant was the most basic skill in music, and often it was the minimal requirement for those in professional liturgical establishments. It was usually the duty of the *maestro de capilla* to teach this basic skill to the boys that were recruited to sing at these establishments. Giuseppe Fiorentino argues that the rudiments of plainchant were taught by rote to the boys before the theoretical concepts were even revealed to them; likewise Fiorentino reminds us that many of these boys were recruited from the lower classes, likely illiterate, and learning from textual sources without the mediation of a teacher was not likely.[72] The sort of rote learning described by Fiorentino would free the young pupils from the burden of the complexities inherent in learning music theory from textual sources. Much like learning to sing, Venegas's method was likely not meant to be used on its own by young pupils,

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[71] James Haar, "Some introductory remarks on musical pedagogy," *Music Education In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* ed. Russel Murray, et al, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010) 3-24.

[72] Fiorentino, "Con la ayuda de nuestro señor," 370.

but rather by older amateurs or professional musicians.

Given the important skills that singing provided to those wishing to play instruments, one would expect that every book of intabulated music would have included some aspect of instruction on the matter, especially since the repertoire contained in those books was largely arrangements of vocal music; this, however is not the case. A survey of the known tablature books (See Table 1) printed in the Iberian Peninsula in the course of the 16th century reveals that the prefatory material only includes brief explanations of the ciphering methods used in each intabulation book, and only a single one of the methods contains substantial material on the art of singing. This is peculiar because although the majority of these books lack the theoretical framework for learning to sing, the authors of these books consistently reference vocal practice as the source of basic musical knowledge, and an indispensable skill for the full use of their methods. In what follows, I would like to highlight some passages from the prefatory remarks of other 16th-century Iberian books of intabulations, as evidence of the pervasiveness of the discourse connecting vocal and instrumental practice.

For Luis Milán, who authored the first book of intabulations printed in Spain, learning chant theory and polyphony (mensural notation) is not optional;

in fact, he states that anyone wishing to learn to play vihuela through his book must *first* learn at least the fundamentals of singing:

> For this reason it is very necessary that those who wish to learn to play vihuela through this book **first learn something of polyphony (mensural music)** [emphasis my own], until they understand through singing how to keep time and measure.[73]

The learning of the art of singing polyphony, he says, is essential in learning how to keep time and learn how to measure the music properly. It also follows that if the instrumentalist eventually wants to intabulate music on their own, they ought to be able to read the notation in which most vocal music was written: mensural notation. It is curious, however, that although he places such a high degree of importance on vocal theory—it is for him, after all, the first step to practical music—there is no material in his book on the subject, which suggests the need to supplement his method of intabulation with a book of *arte de canto*.[74]

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[73] "*Por esto es muy necessario al q por este libro q'ere saber tañer de vihuela:* ***q primeramête aprenda de canto de órgano****: hasta que sepa cantando entender como se ha de traer el compas y mesura" El Maestro*, fol. *Iii v.*

[74] This possibility is supported by the fact that there were 18 Artes de Canto books published in Spain previous to the publication of Milán's book in 1535. See: Mazuela-Anguita, *Artes De Canto En El Mundo Ibérico Renacentista*, 353-355.

Luis Nerváez's confirms the strong connection between vocal and instrumental practice in the prologue to his vihuela book *Los seis libros del Delphin*, printed in Valladolid in 1538[75] only three years after *El Maestro*:

> […] considering that there are people that would not be able to understand how to play the cipher, I have decided to include below some preliminaries that I have devised for the sake of clarity, and with which—**having some knowledge of singing [polyphony]**—one could easily intabutate [*poner*] music for the vihuela and clarify any doubts that could arise if one does not know the general/basic rules [of music].[76]

After explaining the nuances of his ciphering method, he goes on to explain three basic concepts of music theory: mensuration, modes, and mutations through clefs; these are important because, as he himself states, the player of vihuela may want to intabulate music of their choosing from choral books, echoing the statements of Milán two year prior. It should be noted that the remarks on these three theoretical concepts are extremely brief, suggesting that they would only make sense if the reader of his book already had some basic knowledge of vocal theory,

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[75] Madrid, BNE. R/ 9741. Narváez, Luis de**.** *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifras para tañer vihuela* (Valladolid, 1538).

[76] "*considerando qué hay personas que no entenderían las cifras de tañer a lo menos algunos primores que para la claridad dellas yo he inventado, me he movido a poner al cabo de este libro algunas reglas con las quales* ***sabiendo cantar un poco de canto de órgano: muy fácilmente se puede poner en la vihuela*** *y entender algunas dubdas que podrían ignorar a no aver preceptos para sabellas.*" Nerváez, *El Delfin*, fol. *3r.*

and since Nerváez does not include a section on this subject, I am again left to deduce that the way for the player to do this was to supplement his study with any of the available *artes de canto*.

As the decades progress one gets the impression that the authors of these methods for instrumental music assume more and more that the user of the books have a fundamental knowledge of mensural and chant theory. This is the case of Alonso de Mudarra, who published his *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* in Seville in 1546.[77] I should first note that it is very clear that he knew the two books published by Milán and Nerváez published (respectively) 10 and 8 years before his own, evincing his awareness of being part of a tradition of printed vihuela texts and the place of his publication within that tradition. His prologue makes this very explicit:

> Although the way of playing the vihuela and the ciphers used for it have already been discussed at length in the other two books that have already been printed in Spain—which contain very good music both by the authors of these books and by great composer—I will not refrain from repeating what in those books has been said, and adding some fruits from my own harvest.[78]

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[77] Madrid, BNE. R/ 14630. Mudarra, Alonso de. *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela.* (Sevilla, 1546).

[78] "***Aunque en otros dos libros de cifras para vihuela que ay impresos en España*** *de dos excelentes músicos en los quales ay obras de muy buena música ansí suyas como de otros grandes componedores: ay dada larga cuenta de la orden la vihuela y de las cifras della. No por eso d'xare de dezir lo que en los dichos libros está dicho*

When he aims to explain some basic concepts of theory—which he states have already been discussed in the publications before his own—he does so in an extremely cursory way, which suggests to me that he is also assuming a certain type of basic knowledge about vocal music on the part of his reader. Although his prologue references music theory that is pertinent to singing polyphony, no substantive explanation about these concepts is given. In phrases where he explains how to keep time with his cipher he defaults to comparing the cipher to mensural notation, he does not explain the notation, but instead provides illustrations for them:

> These ciphers take their quantity or value from five figures of mensural music which are these[79]

And again, when discussing the *tactus* and mensuration of music, he simply states that there are three different musical prolations, but hardly explains what that may mean in a way that would be intelligible to a beginner:

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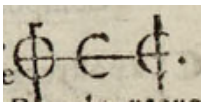
acerca de la declaración de las cifras con declarar algunas cosas que de mi cosecha pongo." Mudarra, *Tres libros de música,* fol. *2v.*

[79] "*Estas cifras toman la cantidad o valor de cinco figuras de canto de órgano las quales son estas.*" Mudarra, *Tres libros de música,* fol. *2v.*

> To know the measure with which to play these ciphers, there are three time [signatures] placed [at the beginning of the intabulation], and they are these:[80]



There are also books that encourage the player to accompany himself while singing the rubricated ciphers (indicated in red), while playing the other voices of the polyphony on the instrument. Such is the case with Diego Pisador's *Libro de Musica de Vihuela* published in Salamanca in 1552:[81]

> The ciphers colored in red are so that the voice indicated by them may be sung by the player [...][82]

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[80] "*Para saber a que compas se an de tañer estas cifras se ponen tres tiempos diferentes y son estos*" Mudarra, *Tres libros de musica,* fol. *2v.*

[81] Madrid, BNE. R/ 14060. Diego Pisador, *Libro de musica de vihuela agora nuevamente compuesto por Diego Pisador, vezino de la ciudad de Salamanca.* (Salamanca, 1552).

[82] "*Cuando se hallaren cifras coloradas son para que la voz que por ellas va señalada, la cante el que tañe y en cada una de ellas se entone [...]*" Pisador, *Libro de musica de vihuela*, fol. *3r.*

Pisador also makes explicit connections between the experience gained through singing and the art of playing an instrument, making the former essential for gaining the skills to do the latter, by always referring to the rules of polyphony:

> The *tactus* in playing vihuela is the same as those used in singing, and it is equal to the length of time it takes for a hand, or foot, to be raised and lower at regular intervals, and this could be a long time or a short time, depending on the speed the player wants[83]

Some authors explicitly state that the most perfect kind of music is that which contains text; such is the case expressed in Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* published in Seville in 1554[84], which goes so far as to state in the prefatory remarks that music without text seems to lack a soul:

> In these works […] it was my intention to set them to text, because it seems to me that text is the soul of any composition since, although a work of music may be very good, it seems as though without text it lacks its true spirit.[85]

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[83] "*El compas de la vihuela es el mismo que el del canto, y es un espacio de tiempo que se tarda tanto quanto la mano, o el pie en alzar y a baxar y este compas puede ser de mayor espacio o menor como quisiere el que tañe* […]"

[84] Madrid, BNE. R/ 14425. Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro d[e] musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica Lyra : en el qual se cotiene[n] muchas y diuersas obras comp[ues]to por Miguel de Fuenllana* (Sevilla, 1554).

[85] "En estas obras […] fue mi intención ponerles letra, porque me parece que la letra es el anima de qualquier compostura, pues aunque qualquier obra compuesta de música sea

For this reason Fuenllana spends quite a bit of time explaining how to sing from the cipher and how to measure the time of the sung cipher using the mensural notation, the symbols of which his tablature places above the staff.

Esteban Daza, who published *El Parnasso*[86]—the last vihuela book of the Spanish 16th century—makes it explicit that knowledge of singing and polyphony are necessary tools to get the most out of his books of music; this quotation also shows that he was aware of his position within the long tradition of these intabulated teaching methods:

> Brief and complete rules for understanding this cipher, and some preliminary remarks on the same, with which—**knowing something of polyphony**—one may play vocal music [*poner*] on the vihuela as well as to clear up mistakes that could occur withough knowledge of the subject [polyphony]; I will be as brief as possible, since I will not repeat things that have already been stated by others.[87]

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muy buena, faltándole la letra parece que carece de verdadero espíritu." Fuenllana, *Libro d[e] musica para vihuela*, fol. *4v.*

[86] Madrid, BNE. R/ 14611. Daza, Esteban. *Libro de Musica en cifras para Vihuela, intitulado el Parnasso.* (Valladolid, 1576).

[87] "*Regla breve y compendiosa para entender etas cifras, y algunos primores ellas, con la qual Regla,* ***sabiendo cantar un poco de canto de Organo****, muy fácilmente se puede poner en la vihuela, y entender algunas dudas, que podrían ocurrir, por no haver preceptos, para savellas, y sere lo mas breve que pudiere, porque no podre dezir tanto que otros no lo hayan tratado.*" Daza, *Libro de Musica en cifras para Vihuela*, fol. *3r.*

So far, I have recounted the emphasis placed on mensural notation and vocal practice by authors of intabulation books for vihuela printed in Spain during the 16th century, but what do the sources specifically for keyboard instruments have to say about this practice? Gonzalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger*, printed in Lisbon in 1540, does not say much about the art of singing, but there is an implicit understanding that the point of his intabulations is to give access to polyphonic music composed by "the masters" to those who "have not been previously taught." Those who he considers the masters—"Ockeghem, Alixandre, Jusquin, Peñalosa"—span several generations, and only one of them (Peñalosa) is both contemporaneous and a native Spanish composer.[88] After declaring his intentions, Baena pivots to an explanation of his cipher, pointing out how his grid layout divides the music into beats and measures; he does not, however, mention anything about mensural notation, chant, or counterpoint. The only phrase that gestures toward the practice of learning the fundamentals of music through chant and polyphony is the last item on his introduction: "All these rules that I have listed are only for those who are not skilled or do not have learned the basics, such as boys, girls, and such."[89]

[88] Baena, *Arte de Tanger*, fol. *1v.*

In Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* printed in Madrid in 1578[90]—the last keyboard collection printed in Spain in the 16th century—there is clear evidence of the connection between singing and keyboard practice. The preface makes it very clear that knowing mensural theory and how to sing is not an option, but rather Cabezón presupposes ("*se ha de presuponer*") that the keyboardist will have these skills already:

> To understand and use the cipher in this book, **it is presupposed** that they who wish to play the works contained within it on keyboard, harp, or vihuela, **will know how to sing** and should know the musical notes that are represented by these symbols very well and from memory […][91]

The *Obras de música* by Cabezón are closely linked to Venegas's book in two ways: (1) it is in Venegas's collection that the works of Antonio Cabezón were printed for the first time (while Cabezon was still alive), and (2) Cabezón's collection uses the same ciphering method invented by Venegas and explained in

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[89] "*Todas estas reglas que son relatadas solamente para los que no son tanto engeñosos o que no tienen principios aprendidos .l. los mozos o niñas y otros semejantes.*" Baena, *Arte de Tanger*, fol. *6v.*

[90] Madrid, BNE. R/3891. Antonio Cabezón, *Obras de musica para tecla, arpa y vihuela de Antonio de Cabeçon / recopiladas y puestas en cifra por Hernando de Cabeçon* (Madrid, 1578).

[91] "*Para inteligencia y uso de la cifra de este libro,* ***se ha de presuponer*** *que el que quiere poner las obras de el en Tecla, Harpa, y vihuela,* ***ha de saber cantar*** *y tener muy conocidos y en la memoria, los signos de la musica significados en esta cifra […]*" Cabezon, *Obras de música*, fol. *7v.*

his *Libro*, two things that highlight both the efficiency of the cipher, and that Venegas's method was still relevant more than 20 years after its initial publication.[92]

Perhaps the most explicit evidence for the interconnection between keyboard practice and singing is found in Juan Bermudo's *Dseclaración de Instrumentos* printed in the university town of Osuna in 1555,[93] just two years prior to Venegas's book. Bermudo's *Declaracion* is a compendium of music theory and practice divided into five books: Book I is a general praise of the art of music, Books II and III are dedicated to music theory, Book IV deals with music practice on keyboard and string instruments (vihuela and harp), and Book V is concerned with counterpoint and composition.[94] Bermudo's opening remarks to Book IV show without a doubt the dependence of keyboard practice on vocal theory:

> All which I have discussed until now has been to come to the following end: **to play polyphonic music on the organ**. One

[92] A point made clear in: Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, "Playing in Consonanses: A Spanish Renaissance Technique of Chordal Improvisation," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 461-71.

[93] Madrid, BNE. R/5256. Juan Bermudo, *Comiença el libro llamado declaraciõ de instrumentos musicales ...* (Osuna, 1555).

[94] Robert Stevenson provides a very useful synopsis of Bermudo's Declaracion in: Robert Stevenson, *Juan Bermudo* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960), 36-75.

> cannot call oneself a player if one doesn't know how to play your own polyphonic music or that of others.[95]

This "all of which we have discussed until now" refers to Books II and III, books which dealt with vocal practice and mensural theory, thus being clear that—in Bermudo's conception of a pedagogical progression—having had singing instruction before starting to play the keyboard is indispensable.

Evident in these examples is that most instrumental collections printed in the Iberian Peninsula during the 16th century assume some level of singing knowledge precisely because the skills acquired through singing—understanding modes, mutations, tactus, how to read mensural notation, and even improvising counterpoint—are essential for 16th-century keyboard practice; the most salient among these skills, per the evidence presented so far, are improvisation and intabulation. Despite the importance of these vocal skills, only two of the books printed in Spain that contain intabulated music include a primer on singing (Bermudo, 1555; and Venegas, 1557); of these two manuals, only the Venegas is truly a collection of keyboard intabulations.

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[95] "*Todo quanto avemos dicho hasta ahora es para venir a este fin, de poner canto de órgano en el monachordio. No se puede uno llamar tañedor: sino sabe poner musica suya, o agena.*" Bermudo, *Declaracíon de instrumentos*, Book IV, fol. lxxxij *v*

What makes Venegas's *Libro* significant is precisely that it is a self-contained method for the practicing musician, including both a singing primer and intabulations of vocal and instrumental pieces. Although the book is primarily meant as a manual for keyboard practice through intabulation, the theoretical apparatus appended to it is essential for musical practice and meant to provide just enough information as is necessary to facilitate keyboard practice; as the manual's section heading itself states: *bastante compendio, para saber la practica*.[96] There is further evidence of the longevity of the link between singing and keyboard practice in a manuscript from one hundred years earlier: the *Lochamer Liederbuch*. Compiled in the period between 1440 and 1460, the book is made up of two parts containing a total of 45 songs; the second of these parts is Conrad Pauman's *Fundamentum organizandi*, one of the earliest pedagogical treatises for keyboard with 31 organ pieces in tablature. One salient aspect of the manuscript—for our present discussion—is that there is a brief (2 folios) primer on the rules of mensural music included at the end of the manuscript (see *Figure 22*). Although well beyond the scope of the present study, this example from a keyboard manuscript one hundred years before the printing of Venegas's *Libro*

[96] "Just enough to put into practice," see: Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. *3v*.

shows the longevity and continuity of the idea of obtaining necessary basic skills for playing the keyboard through learning vocal practice.

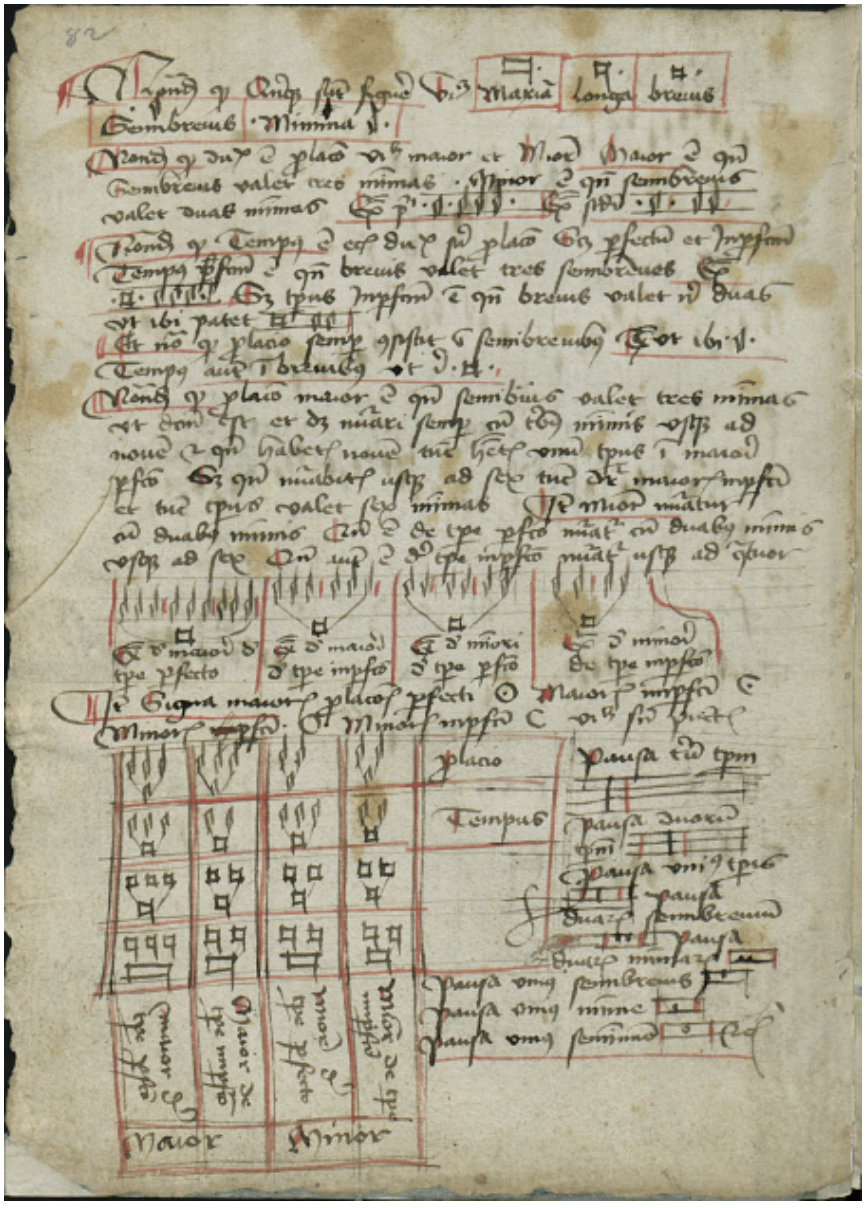

Figure 22. Brief primer on mensural music notation found in the *Lochamer Liederbuch* ca. 1450, fol. *41v* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

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The *Libro*'s pedagogical ideology in the context of a University City.

Didactic efficiency, the streamlining of content, and clarity of material are all aims that Venegas hoped to achieve in the content of his book. Venegas's *Libro de cifra nueva* was published in 1557 at the workshop of Juan de Brócar, in the University town of Alcalá de Henares. Why did Venegas choose this printer in this city? Could the culture surrounding the university town of Alcalá have influenced the ideas and content of his book? Surprisingly, the scholarship on the *Libro* to date has overlooked any connection between the tablature book, its printer, and the city in which it was produced. I believe that a basic overview of Alcalá de Henares's cultural and economic development, and the contribution of its university to that development during the 16th century, can provide valuable information about the context in which Venegas's collection took shape and was produced.

From the time of its reconquest from the Moors in 1118, the city of Alcalá de Henares was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Toledo, a post held by Venegas's patron—Cardinal Juan Tavera—from 1534 until his death in 1545. During the early 16th century, the city— which enjoyed economic prosperity throughout the late Middle Ages and Renaissance due to its strategic location on the road to the Kingdom of Aragón—saw a series of reforms carried out by

Tavera's predecessor Cardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros (also known as Jiménez de Cisneros, or just Cisneros); paramount among these reforms was the founding of a new university, the *Complutensis Universitas*, in 1499. Also known as the University of Alcalá or Cisnerian University (after its founder), the institution grew out of the *Studium Generale* chartered by King Sancho IV of Castile in 1293.[97] A papal bull of Alexander VI (the Valencian Rodrigo Borgia) from 1499 allowed Cardinal Cisneros to restructure the *Studium Generale*, endow it with the necessary funds, and grant papal legitimacy to the degrees conferred by its faculties. During Cardinal's Cisneros lifetime, the University became one of the premier centers of learning in Spain where the newly introduced ideals of Italian Humanism would flourish—a reputation that would continue well into the 17th century. The University of Alcalá de Henares thus became the rival institution of the world-renown University of Salamanca, from which it would even poach some important members for its faculty. One such academic, and perhaps the clearest indication of the University's aspirations as the center of Spanish Humanism, was Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522) who joined the faculty of the

[97] This charter is found in the National Historical Archive of Spain; see: *Real carta de Sancho IV el Bravo al arzobispo Gonzalo García de Gudiel.* Archivo Histórico Nacional, sección Universidades, legajo 1 y libro 1151-F

Complutenis Universitas in 1514.[98] Nebrija is perhaps best known for his authorship and involvement in two of the most ambitious projects of the Spanish monarchy's nation-building in the late 15th and early 16th century: (1) the publication of the first grammar of a European vernacular language—the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* in 1492; and (2) the publication of the first complete polyglot Bible— Nebrija's *La Biblia políglota complutense* of 1517—ties it strongly to the University of Alcalá, also known as *Universidad Complutense*. Nebrija was highly influenced by the newly emergent Humanist school of thought in Italy, with which he came in contact during his time as a student at the University of Bologna; he returned from Italy in 1473 with the aim of instilling in his countrymen the love of Classical antiquity—an aim much in line with the agenda of Cardinal Cisneros.

The proliferation of knowledge and the new educational ideas introduced from Italy during the late 15th and early 16th century were aided in large part by the printing press. The scholarship of Juan Martin Abad has documented Alcalá de Henares's robust printing activities throughout the 16th century, something not entirely unexpected in a burgeoning university city; the workshop of Arnao

[98] Nebrija had been a member of the faculty of the University of Salamanca from the time of his return from Bologna (1473) until he joined the University of Alcalá in 1514.

Guillén de Brocar and his son Juan de Brocar feature prominently in this scene. The workshop of Arnao Guillén de Brocar held the royal privilege to print Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática* (1492), and it was in his workshop that the Polyglot Bible was printed under the supervision of Antonio de Nebrija; his son Juan, who would inherit these printing privileges, was present at the ceremony when his father would present the Polyglot Bible to Cardinal Cisneros in 1517, which shows his involvement in this robust publishing scene from early on in his life.[99] Based on the type and importance of the commissions, the Brócar workshop can be posited as one of the most influential printing houses, involved in the ecclesiastical and state's didactic agenda that was being channeled through the University of Alcalá.

As we have seen above, the city Alcalá together with its University were taking pride of place among Early Modern universities in Spain, rivaled only by the University of Salamanca. How did Venegas come to be in contact with the workshop of Juan Brócar? Further, was Venegas involved with the University of Alcalá, and could this involvement have any impact on his publication? The answers to these questions converge on the Venegas's patron, Cardinal Juan Tavera, who held the post of Archbishop of Toledo from 1534. Alcala de Henares was administered by the See of Toledo and, as Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal

[99] Martín Abad, *La Imprenta En Alcalá De Henares,* 87.

Tavera would have administered the city's ecclesiastical and educational institutions, chief among them the University of Alcalá. Scholarship has shown that Cardinal Tavera was known to send members of his household to pursue studies in the Liberal Arts at that institution, and while it is not possible at this point to state with certainty if Venegas was among them, it is quite possible that he did have some education there.[100] There is evidence, however, of both Venegas's erudition and his commitment to a Liberal Arts education in the *Prologue* to his book (see *Appendix 2*, pp. 224—228). Especially telling are some adjectives used to describe Venegas in the Epigram that introduces the collection; the epigram describes Venegas as a very brilliant man [*clarisimi viri*, sic.], his book as the lessons of a master [*documenta magister*], and the skills he imparts as those of an expert [*peritus*] (see *Appendix 2*, p 223). These are attributes that one would normally reserve for those who were highly learned in a subject (in this case music), or who had obtained some sort of academic training in the same. Venegas seemed to be mindful of the importance of an education in the Liberal Arts, as he in fact begins his prologue by highlighting their importance (though in a highly idiosyncratic manner):

[100] On this point see: Roqueta, "Músicos de la corte del Cardenal Juan Tavera," 155-178.

> "We know from the Authorities that the Liberal Arts are conducive to Virtue, and thus from the name *liberi liberorum* (which means sons/offspring) we get the term liberal art, because they should be learned at a young age. Among the Liberal Arts, which are: Music, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astrology, Music was held in higher esteem by the Ancients. And so, we gather from Josephus[101] in ancient times, and from Tostado[102], and from Luis Vivas[103], and from other writers that, once Adam had bemoaned his Sin, and the death of his son Abel, God consoled him by revealing to him the penalty for the harm done by him and his descendants: which would be to destroy the World once by water and once by fire. Adam told this revelation to his third son, Seth, who was very learned in the Liberal Arts (as told us by Josephus), and who, thinking that it was a great shame that his favorite of these arts, Music, would be lost to his descendants (which are all of us, since Abel died a virgin, and the descendants of Cain died in the flood), called for two columns to be made: one of clay bricks, so that fire would not consume it, and one of marble, to withstand water; in each of these columns he wrote the art of music, so that if one were to perish there would still be another. And so we are told by Eusebius and Josephus, that one of these columns is in Syria. By these actions Seth reveals to us the importance of this Liberal Art, which frees some from vice and sloth, so pleasant is its practice, which reveals new and ever-increasing riches […]"[104]

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[101] Josephus was a first-century Jewish convert to Christianity; aming his best known works is a chronicle of the Roman conques of Jerusalem. See: Flavius Josephus William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987).

[102] Tostado here refers to the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, 1400 – 1455, bishop of Avila. Alonso Tostado, as he was also known, wrote a Spanish commentary on Eusebius, which is likely the source available to Luis Venegas de Henestrosa. See: Clayton J. Drees, *The Late Medieval Age of Crisis and Renewal, 1300-1500: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), 465.

[103] For relevant information on Luis Vives see: D. J. Murray and Helen E. Ross, "Vives (1538) On Memory And Recall," *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne* 23.1 (1982): 22-31. AND Juan Lius Vives 1492-1540, *Vives: On Education; a Translation of the De Tradendis Disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives* (Cambridge: University press, 1913).

[104] Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. *3r.*

From this account of the importance of Music within the liberal arts (note that Venegas placed music first in his list), one gets the impression that Venegas was indeed learned (or, at least, intellectually curious) due to his ability to cite several ancient and modern sources on the subject. Josephus did indeed write about these columns found in Syria (Venegas translates Josephus's tale almost word for word, so he must have read it personally, see below), but the "art of music" that Venegas describes as having been inscribed on those columns is in fact the art of cosmology;[105] this is not altogether unrelated since in the academic

[105] "(67) Adamos, the first man formed from earth—for my narrative demands an account concerning him—, after Abelos had been slaughtered and Kais had fled because of his murder, longed to have children; and a vehement passion took hold of him for procreation, when he had already completed 230 years of his life, after that, adding 700 years more, he died. (68) Other and more numerous children were born to him, including Sethos. But it would take long to speak about the others; I shall try to relate only the ones derived from Sethos. He, after being nurtured and coming to the prime of life that is able to judge beautiful things, strove after virtue, and being himself excellent, left descendants who imitated the same virtues. (69) All of these, being virtuous, lived in happiness in the same land without civil strife, with nothing unpleasant coming upon them until their death. And they discovered the science with regard to the heavenly bodies and their orderly arrangement. (70) And in order that humanity might not lose their discoveries or perish before they came to be known, Adamos having predicted that there would be an extermination of the universe, at one time by a violent fire and at another time by a force with an abundance of water, they made two pillars, one of brick and the other of stones and inscribed their findings on both, (71) in order that if the one of brick should be lost owing to the flood the one of stone should remain and offer an opportunity to teach men what had been written on it and to reveal that also one of brick had been set up by them. And it remains until today in the land of Seiris." Josephus, *Judean Antiquities*, Book 1, ¶67-71; translated in: Flavius Josephus, Steve Mason, Louis H. Feldman, Christopher Begg, Paul Spilsbury, Chris Seeman, Jan W. Henten, and John M. G. Barclay, *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), Vol. 2, 23-26.

curriculum, the study of music was usually couched in cosmological language or mathematics in the tradition of Boethius.

Research into the teaching of Mathematics at the University of Alcalá during the 16th century confirms this assertion because there is a surviving example of the standard text book used to teach Mathematics at the university during this period: Juan de Segura's *Mathematicae quaedam selectae propositiones, ex Euclides, Boëtij, & et antiquorum.*[106] Segura's book is divided into six sections: (1) *De numeris*, (2) *Geometrica Elementa*, (3) *Perspectiva*, (4) *Musica*, (5) *Arithmetica Praxis*, and (6) *Geometrica Praxis*; inserted between the treatises on Perspective—primarily concerned with optics and its phenomenae—and Applied Arithmetic—concerned with fractions, squre roots, etc.—we find a treatise on Music. The concept of Music here is being employed much in the same way as in the Medieval commentary tradition, which has been concisely summed up in the work of Andrew Hicks:

> "In the twelfth-century commentary tradition, *musica* is employed without qualification as the music of the medieval schoolroom. It takes its place in the quadrivium alongside arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and it encompasses two interrelated conceptual realms: (1) the elucidation of the definitions, first principles, and divisions that form the foundations of the science (and practice) of music, and (2) the extension of more

[106] Javier Peralta, "Los Estudios de Matemáticas en la Universidad de Alcalá en Tiempos de Carlos III y sus Precedentes," *Boletim de Educação Matemática* (2016): 402-423.

> abstract, metaphysical concepts (such as *proportio*, *harmonia*, *concentus*) beyond the sensual, corporeal realm of sounding music. *Musica* offers neither pedagogical nor practical introduction for the musician (in the modern sense of the term), but a road (one of four, of course) to the study of philosophy."[107]

Here music is placed among the Mathematical Arts because the speculative study of music in the Medieval and Renaissance academic setting was primarily concerned with the mathematical aspects of musical ratios and its connection to the cosmos, the division of the monochord and the intervals produced by the mathematical division of the string, the three genera of melodies (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic), and how these concepts illuminated philosophical ideas about the cosmos. Among the book's content there is not a shred of material on actual musical practice, and this is exactly the niche being filled by *Artes de canto*: the ability to impart concise theoretical concepts with the sole purpose of putting music into practice. As the only Iberian book of intabulated music that also contains a primer on theory and singing, Venegas's *Libro* fills the gap between theory and practice by promoting a performance ideology in which theoretical study serves as a tool for musical practice, and not as an object of speculation in

[107] See: Andrew J. Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 69-70.

and of itself. Further, Venegas's book may have served to fill a niche for playing keyboard instruments created by a curious stipulation of the University of Alcalá which forbade students from having guitars [vihuelas] in their rooms, and which suggested having a clavichord instead.[108]

But how did Venegas come to include an *Arte* as the introduction of his book of music? One possible answer lies in his printer, Juan de Brócar, whose workshop in fact published an *Arte de canto* in 1544: Melchior de Torres's *Arte ingeniosa de musica*. At this point it is not possible to say with certainty that Venegas was familiar with this book, but there are factors that make this a strong possibility. Melchior de Torres was the *maestro de capilla* of Alcalá de Henares, a musical position not likely overlooked by Venegas who was in the employment of the Archbishop of Toledo, the diocese that oversaw Alcalá. Printing music was a highly specialized task in 16th-century Spain, so it would not be a stretch to think that if Venegas was looking for a printer for his musical book he might have consulted with persons in professional musical positions such as the *maestro de capilla* for the city. One thing is certain: Venegas chose to print his book at the workshop of Juan de Brócar, and in that process the printer could have shown

[108] On this point see: Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, 93.

him Melchior de Torres's *Arte* as an example of his printing capabilities in the specialized field of music.[109] What is clear, however, is that the vocal primer in Venegas's *Libro* shares many similarities with Torres's *Arte ingeniosa*; among these is the wish to present the necessary elements of theory as would be needed for singing practice (see figures 23 and 24, below). The prologue of the *Arte ingeniosa* makes this aim very clear, as it states its importance of providing information on music practice "for all of those who wish to grasp the practice of music with ease, as is evident in its [the book] new style [of presenting the topic]."[110]

[109] Further we find evidence that connects Torres's *Arte ingeniosa* with another author of a book of intabulations in the post-mortem inventory of Alonso de Mudarra's book collection bequeathed to the Cathedral Chapter of Seville; in the list of books we find that Mudarra—canon of the Cathedral of Seville and author of a book of intabulations for Vihuela (*Tres libros de musica en cifra para vihuela*, 1546)—owned a printed copy of Torres's *Arte.* On this topic see: Trevor J. Dadson, "Music Books and Instruments in Spanish Golden-Age Inventories," *Early Music Printing and Publishing In the Iberian World*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (Kassel: Edition Reichenberg, 2006), 98.

[110] "Creyendo ser muy necessaria y provechosa a todos los que en esta facultad de musica practica quisieren ser aprovechados con facilidad: como parecera en su nuevo estilo." Torres, *Arte ingeniosa,* fol. *1v.*

De cifra nueua.

¶ Ada ierrase que las cifras que van en este arte, se declaran para otro mayor com pendio. Fo. 7.

Exemplo para subir.

Para descendir.

Para las mutanças.

Viendo rezado y cătado algunos dias sin mutança, entienda que el primer fa, que es el que atraviessa la clave, es el fundamento para conocer los otros faes cabe donde se hazen las mutanças, pues mutança es, quando baxa del vt, o sube del: la que es mudarse de vno a otro, que ay otros faes en esta manera: en la clave de ffaut, el segundo fa, es dos espacios abaxo del primero: y el tercero, es tres reglas arriba, y en la clave de csolfaut al contrario: conuiene a saber, tres reglas abaxo es el segundo fa, y el tercero dos espacios arriba, y si baxare, o subiere mas, sera el quarto fa, en la clave de ffaut, quatro espacios abaxo, y en la clave de csolfaut, sera el quarto fa, otros quatro espacios encima, contando siempre en entrambas claues desde el primer fa (aunque muy pocas vezes allega a esto s quartos faes el canto llano, especialmente al de csolfaut, mas estara dicho para el cãto de organo) y mire que ha de tomar re para subir, y la para descendir. Y para que el principiante no se desentone, estudiando por si, aduierta, que como entono fa, sol, entone, fa, re, y para descendir, como dixo fa, mi, diga, fa, la. Y aduiertase que el tercero fa, de la clave de ffaut, es el mismo q̃ el primero dela de csolfaut: y el primero dela de ffaut, es tãbiẽ el segundo delá de csolfaut.

¶ Exemplo delas mutanças,

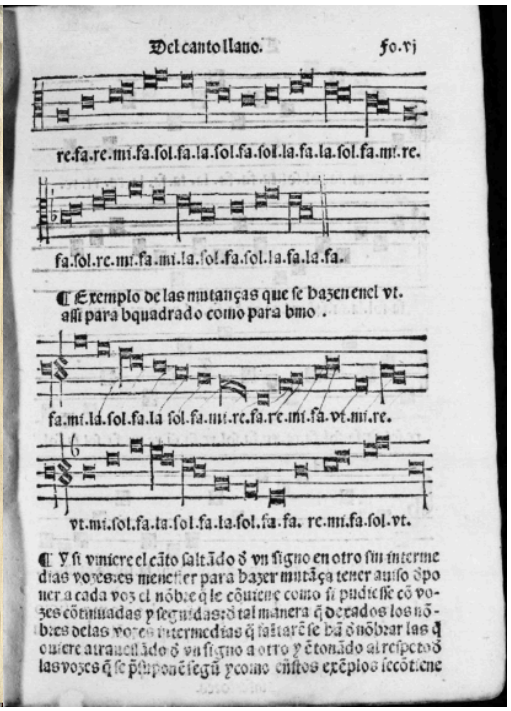
¶ Y si pregunta el discipulo, que pues esta dicho que vn punto abaxo dela clave es mi, por que dezimos la, en este tiempo. Responderse ha, que porque baxa el canto del segundo fa, porque entonces hemos de tomar respecto del fa, que se sigue quando el canto llega, o passa del.

¶ Exemplo dela clave de csol faut.

¶ Y si dixere el discipulo, que pues esta dicho q̃ vn punto encima dela clave de csolfaut es sol, porque dezimos agora re. Respõdese, que por el tercero fa.

¶ Excepcion delos faes dichos.

Esto delos faes, se entiende quãdo no ay bemol porq̃ dõde esta esta .b. se ha de hazer fa, en toda la regla, o espacio si esta cabe la clave, y si esta delãte, o enmedio, hazese ha no mas á vn fa,



Del canto llano. fo. vj

re.fa.re.mi.fa.sol.fa.la.sol.fa.sol.la.fa.la.sol.fa.mi.re.

fa.sol.re.mi.fa.mi.la.sol.fa.sol.la.fa.la.fa.

¶ Exemplo de las mutanças que se hazen en el vt. assi para bquadrado como para bmo.

fa.mi.la.sol.fa.la sol.fa.mi.re.fa.re.mi.fa.vt.mi.re.

vt.mi.sol.fa.la.sol.fa.la.sol.fa.fa. re.mi.fa.sol.vt.

¶ Y si viniere el cãto saltãdo ó vn signo en otro sin interme dias voces: es menester para hazer mutãça tener auiso ãpo ner a cada voz el nõbre q̃ le cõuiene como si pudiesse cõ vo zes cõtinuadas y seguidas: ó tal manera q̃ de cados los nõ bres delas voces intermedias q̃ faltarẽ se hã ó nõbrar las q̃ quiere atrauessãdo ó vn signo a otro y ẽtonãdo al respecto ó las voyces q̃ se ꝓsiguẽ segũ y como estos exẽplos siccõtiene

Figure 23. fol. 4r. of Venegas's *Libro.*

Figure 24. fol. 6r. of Torre's *Arte ingeniosa.*

This page from Venegas's singing primer shows an example of the way he explained mode mutation. Notice that he includes not only the appropriate solfegge syllables, but also the corresponding number according to his ciphering method.

Torres's explanation of mode mutation, he also places the corresponding solfegge syllables under the corresponding notes. There are obvious signs of use, as can be seen in the lines that indicate which syllable corresponds to each note.

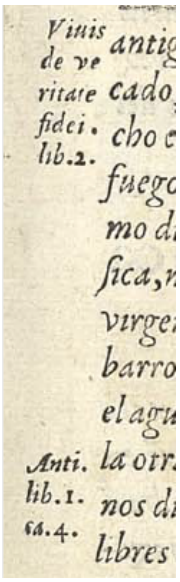


Figure 25. The only two in-text citations made by Venegas in his *Prologue*: Juan Luis Vives [Vivis] and Josephus.

The quote from Venegas's *Prologue* cited above cites two authors: Josephus and Juan Luis Vives [Vivas]; these are the only two textual citations in the *Libro* (Figure 25). Although these citations were overlooked by Higiní Anglés in his 1944 study of Venegas's book, they are crucial in understanding the extra-musical concepts and works that were shaping Venegas's own ideas about music and its role in education and shaping subjectivity. I have already addressed the quote by Josephus above; below I will show the relevance of Juan Luis Vives's pedagogical ideas in the context of the *Libro*. Connecting the educational philosophy of the Valencian pedagogue Juan Luis Vives to the aim and organization of the *Libro de Cifra nueva*. One of Juan Luis Vives's most influential works on the education of women *De institutione feminae christianae* (1523)—dedicated to Catherine of

Aragon—was groundbreaking for its insistence on the importance of educating women in the arts and letters, but above all in the Christian faith.[111] The book cited by Venegas in his *Prologue* (see above)—Vives's *De veritate fidei Christianae* (1543)— addressed the community of converted Muslims and Jews of the Iberian peninsula,[112] and aims to provide philosophical arguments for the supremacy of the Christian faith over Judaism and Islam. I should note that the date of publication of Vives's book (1543) puts it squarely during the time when Venegas was part of the household of Cardinal Juan Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo. It is likely that Venegas encountered the works of Juan Luis Vives in the library of said Cardinal, which would have influenced his views on pedagogy and the role of music in the formation of the true Christian subject, two topics that Venegas addressed in his *Prologue.*

But what about the educational philosophy of Juan Luis Vives would appeal to a musician? Scholarship has shown Vives regarded music as an important element in the curriculum and that this idea was heavily felt in the educational

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[111] For a detailed study of this particular work by Vives, see: Fiona Skelton, *The Content, Context and Influence of the Work of Juan Luis Vives [1492-1540]*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1996 [D.Phil. Dissertation]).

[112] Marcia L. Colish, "The De Veritate Fidei Christianae Of Juan Luis Vives," *Christian Humanism : Essays In Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, ed. Arie Johan Vanderjagt, et al (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 171-198.

philosophy of England where Vives served at the court of Henry VIII[113]; I argue that, although more research is needed regarding his influence of Spain, it is very likely that his educational philosophies had an impact on pedagogy in his native country. In his *De Tradendis Disciplinis* ("On the Transmission of Knowledge," 1531), Vives makes several allusions to music, primarily as it connects to the other Liberal Arts; one particularly relevant instance is when he connects music to mathematics:

> Arithmetic applied to sounds, gave Music. And each of these has two aspects; the one which consists of the contemplative attitude is called theoretical (*speculativus*); the other issues in work and is called practical (*actuosus* or *effectrix*). From the former the latter takes its source, which is common to all those things connected with practice and exercise in life.[114]

We have already seen above the connection of music and arithmetic in Juan Segura's textbook used at the University of Alcalá during the 16th century, and these statements by Vives help to nuance the place of music within the liberal arts. Further, Vives's statements highlight the connection between music theory

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[113] "The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives gave music a prominent role in his own educational curriculum, influencing Elizabethan educationalists from Roger Ascham to Richard Mulcaster" in: Jonathan P. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism In Post-reformation England : Discourses, Sites and Identities*. (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 166.

[114] Foster Watson and Juan Luis Vives, *Vives: On Education: a Translation of the De Tradendis Disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives* (Cambridge [Eng.]: The University press, 1913), 201.

and music practice and how they relate to each other for the purposes of learning: theory precedes practice. What is also clear is that the theoretical and the practical work in tandem in Vives's pedagogical ideology much in the same way as they do in Venegas's keyboard method:

> In the arts, as in every kind of work, the end is first brought to the mind by reflection; then follows the carrying it out. In others [arts], the end of knowledge is knowledge itself, and these are called 'the contemplative arts:' such as the contemplation of nature, and that of quantities which is called geometry. The end of the other arts is action, as in music when, after the action nothing is left. These called "active arts. Book I, Ch. III [115]

Music, as an active art, requires that it be put into practice in order for it to be heard; this practice, however, depends on a theoretical apparatus for its rudiments. Vives clearly states the importance of music study, again referencing the importance of theory and practice as the two pillars of a musical education:

> Young men should receive theoretical instruction in music, and should also have some practical ability. Only let the pupil practice pure and good music which, after the Pythagorean mode, soothes, recreates, and restores to itself the wearied mind of the student; then let it lead back to tranquility and tractability all the wild and fierce parts of the student's nature, as it is related to the ancient world, under the guise of stories, that rocks were moved and wild beasts allured by it. So at least we are told in the stories of Orpheus and Amphion.[116]

[115] Watson, *Vives: On Education*, 204.

[116] Ibid., 205.

But the area where Vives's educational philosophy would have had the most impact in regard to music practice is in his promotion of a pedagogical ideology that valued hands-on experimentation as the testing-ground for theoretical concepts. For Vives, experience—and not just the textual authority of the ancients—is the vehicle for educational progress and intellectual development.[117] As Vives himself states: "*from the former* [theory] *the latter* [practice] *takes its source, which is common to all those things connected with practice and exercise in life."*[118] Therefore it is possible to see—at least in a preliminary way—that some aspects of Humanist pedagogical ideology intersect with the intentions of printed books of music, such as the *Libro*—in very generative ways: (1) by highlighting Music as a tool for the formation of the Christian subject, (2) by providing greater opportunities for devotional participation through knowledge of music and chant, (3) by promoting an experiential hands-on approach to learning, and (4) by promoting all acts of

[117] "utilitarian, experimental tasks... The emphasis is explicitly on the authority of reason as formed by contact with nature, not on the verbal authority of the ancients; words are now to be considered subordinate to the 'things' of experience. Vives heralds a whole revolution in educational thinking, where reason, working on the stuff of experience, becomes the court of ultimate appeal rather than a reason ('judgment') which is confined to the assimilation, harmonization and deployment of past authorities" in: G. H. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory' Vol 1: Artifice and Nature, 1350-1765* (London: George Allen '& Unwin, 1980), 112.

[118] Watson, *Vives: On Education*, 204.

intellectual edification as a moral and Christian imperative, empowering subjects to teach themselves and see their experiences as educationally formative.

In the *Prologue* to the *Libro,* Venegas addresses what he himself thought was the audience and purpose of the book, stating that although those with some musical knowledge will benefit the most from his cipher (*cifra*), beginners should not dismay because he certifies "that I know of some beginners who in a few days have been able to play *fantasies* of intermediate difficulty, and almost improvising with this cipher."[119] This points to a dual purpose in Venegas's publication: (1) to provide access to a collection of music in a new cipher for those who are already skilled instrumentalists, and (2) to provide a method from which a beginner may teach himself the rudiments of music practice necessary for playing the music contained within the book. The skills gained through singing practice were deployed in a highly regularized and codified progression: plainchant, notated polyphony, and counterpoint. Through plainchant the student learns solfege syllables, the organization of pitches into modes, and their mutations: skills that are essential for performing the basic repertoire of the liturgy, and which were the basis of most sacred music in the form *cantus prius factus*. Polyphony had its own

[119] "[…]no desmaye el principiante, porque le certifico que tengo experiencia de algunos que en pocos dias tañen medianamente su fantasia, y casi de improviso esta cifra." Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. *3r.*

idiosyncrasies in terms of notation and meter, requiring the student to learn how to read mensural notation, how to measure music, and how to combine multiple parts through counterpoint. On the other hand, learning counterpoint allows the student to gain knowledge of voice combinations, the formation of consonances and dissonances, and how to use them properly. These skills are particularly important to the keyboardist because all music for keyboard during the 16th century was for multiple voices and most of that music—as one can judge by the repertoire contained in Venegas's book and other sources—took the form of intabulated reductions of vocal repertoire. Finally, the skill of improvisation was gained through the study of what Venegas calls in his book "concerted counterpoint;" the ability to add voices to a preexisting melody extemporaneously was a highly specialized skill, one which required the mastery and deployment of all the skills that are gained through the study of plainchant and polyphony. It is telling that what Venegas sees as one of the method's greatest achievements—the ability to provide beginners with the means with which to teach themselves to improvise *fantasias* modeled on those contained in the book—is the culmination of a process that requires the player to deploy all the skills contained in Venegas's singing primer.

Conclusions

This chapter is primarily concerned with a study of the pedagogical outline promoted by Venegas's book. Although not explicitly stated by its author, the *Libro* espouses the pedagogical ideology of autodidacticism; this ideology is most evident in the fact that the *Libro* functions as a self-contained method that explicitly connects singing and playing through simplified theoretical concepts. This framework is presented in a straightforward manner intended to directly link theory to practice in a way that might appeal to professionals and amateurs alike. This pedagogical ideology allows the users of the book a degree of self-determination, placing musical education in their own hands and at their own pace. In the Foucaldian sense, the *Libro* thus functions as a technology of the self in that it gives the user the musico-theoretical tools necessary to shape their own musical literacy and practice, thus allowing users "to effect by their own means […] a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform I themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality."[120] In the Spanish context, this technology of the self allows a user to become conversant

[120] Michel Foucault, et al., eds. *Technologies of the Self: a Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18.

and practicing in the art of music, which in turn offers them the opportunity to obtain qualities deemed socially desirable and capable of improving their social standing at court, much as they did for Venegas himself.

Another element of the *Libro* that emerges from the present study is the connection of Venegas's pedagogical ideology with the printing activities in Alcalá de Henares, and the Christian ideology promoted by the works of Juan Luis Vives. A previously-ignored citation of Vives's work in the Prologue of the *Libro* shows that Venegas was not only aware of the latest pedagogical trends in music, but of the work of Juan Luis Vives himself, who promoted a type of Christian Humanism that fit in well with the educational initiatives of the University of Alcalá and which permeated the intellectual activity of that city. In this context, the *Libro* fulfills the main tenets of Humanism: the search for wisdom as a moral preoccupation, and the deployment of aesthetics as outward proof of that wisdom. That is to say, the *Libro* offers its reader the ability to obtain—at their own pace—the knowledge necessary for musical practice, by playing the music contained in the book. Because the music in the book is part of a State-sanctioned repertoire—as evident in its approval for printing—that repertoire allows the user to perform the musical ideology of the State, and thus makes them part of a community of subjects.

But who were these beginners and instrumentalists to which Venegas directs his method, and how can his *Libro* help us understand the cultural and social benefits provided to them by the skills described above? In the next chapter I show that answers to these can be found through analyzing the way in which the repertoire included in Venegas's book deploys and exemplifies the pedagogical ideology he espoused. Further I show that both this pedagogical method and the repertoire it contains reflect the convergence of extra-musical factors linked to Luis Venegas: the influence of his patron Cardinal Tavera, the humanist ideals introduced by Nebrija and Vives and promoted by the University of Alcalá, and the printing activities of the Brócar family in that same city. I believe that in the convergence of these factors we find those elements that highlight the importance of music within the Spanish monarchy's cultural and political agenda that sought to shape the Early Modern Spanish subject, creating the foundations of an identity of "Spanishness" in the context of a rapidly expanding global empire.

Chapter Three
Curating sound: The *Libro de cifra Nueva* and musical genre

> "The sociology of culture is premised on the notion that boundaries between aesthetic genres correspond to social boundaries between groups. One of the major mechanisms by which such correspondence operates is that groups claim genres as their own and tie their group identities to the aesthetic standards of 'their' genre"[121]
>
> William G. Roy

The previous chapter demonstrated the pedagogical aim of the *Libro*: to give the books' user the necessary musical skills with which to play various styles of music on the three instruments that Venegas points to in his title: keyboard, harp, and vihuela. I showed that one of the ways through which such a process could take place was through the act of self-teaching; as put forward in Luis Milán's *El Maestro*, the first book of intabulated music for vihuela printed in Spain, creating a collection that follows the trajectory that a private tutor might follow with a student allows for a greater democratization of the process and permits those who are able to procure such books to learn about music at their own pace, and to the level that was useful for them. One of the key mechanisms here is the printed anthology or collection—such as Milán's or Venegas's—which not only changed the way music was disseminated but how it was accessed and

[121] William G. Roy, "Aesthetic identity, race, and american folk music," *Qualitative Sociology, 25*, 3, (2001), 460.

learned.[122] Such anthologies and collections would not have been as successful in reaching a wide audience if it were not for printing. Of course, an anthology is not the new development, since—as we shall see below—scribes had been putting together such collections in manuscript for quite some time. What is new is that printing allowed these curated compilations of music to be available in larger quantities and to a wider audience.[123] The anthologizing role of Venegas is made clear on the title page, where it states that the book is *compuesto* [compiled] by Venegas; this led John Ward to dub Venegas an "editor."[124] If, therefore, the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* is an anthology, and Venegas is its compiler and editor, what do the contents of the book tell us about his intended audience? In this chapter I will

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[122] Tess Knighton on printed anthologies: "printing was one of the agents of change in the transitional period from oral to written instrumental music, both in terms of the dissemination of repertory and auto didacticism." See: Tess Knighton, "Instruments, instrumental music, and instrumentalists : traditions and transitions," *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs,* Tess Knighton, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 97.

[123] "The anthology, a genre we take for granted, depends heavily on the print medium." Alastair Fowler, "The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After," *New Literary History*, vol. 34, no. 2, (2003), 185-187.

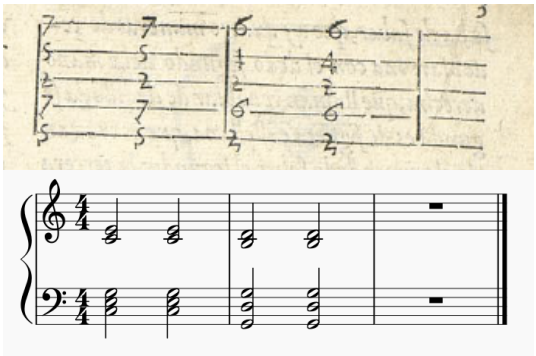
[124] On this point see: John Ward, "The Editorial Methods of Venegas de Henestrosa" *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 6, no. 1/3, (1952), 105. Kate Van Orden has also written about the role of compilers and editors; although her study is primarily concerned with printing in Italy and France, it shows the ways in which editors played a central role in the collection of repertoire and the production of printed books to bring that repertoire to a larger audience. Van Orden shows that it was for the labor involved in the collection of repertoire, the design of the fonts and types, the layout of the books that these authors took credit, and not for the music contained within them. See: Kate Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 30.

provide a quantitative appraisal of the repertoire contained in the Libro de cifra nueva. The aim of my analysis is to generate data about genre, style, purpose (liturgical vs. secular) and provenance (domestic vs. imported); this data will be used to construct a panorama of the musical networks represented in Venegas's collection. This chapter will also highlight the ways socio-political factors might have influenced his editorial decisions.

Genre and pedagogy

The organization of the *Libro* is heavily dependent on genre, using generic distinctions not only to group pieces together, but also to provide the beginner with a way to distinguish what pieces might be appropriate as exercises. In the didactic section of the *Libro*—those labeled in the table of contents as *Artes*—Venegas has two sections that address one of the most basic aspects of keyboard practice: how to use both hands at the keyboard (See: *Appendix 2*, pp. 249—253). In the section on how to play the keyboard—called "On ascending and descending on the keyboard" (*Para subir y descender por la Tecla*)—Venegas addresses the steps a beginner should take when first learning the keyboard. He first suggests practicing trills on both hands as a way to loosen the fingers and get used to the touch; he then addresses the ways a beginner ought to familiarize themselves with the interface of the keyboard:

After this, so that you may learn to play in octaves and thirds on the keyboard [*monachordio*], play these two measures,



contracting and expanding the left hand, playing the same pattern one or two tones higher in every part of the keyboard, and also in the minor keys, playing thirds with the right hand; then play *Condes Claros* and *fabordones*, and be aware that all the ciphers written one atop another are to be played together.

Then you may play easy melodies, and duos and trios, or things for four voices; although, for the love of melody, it would be best to take something that you enjoy, a trio or quartet, making sure to play this first work very well, taking it little by little, and after you know it, practice it many times until you play it clearly and cleanly, keeping the beat, even if this takes many days, because having learned one piece, others will be learned just the same way; but know that, often, wanting to learn many things at once will leave you knowing nothing at all. You should play the same pieces you are learning several times every day, because this will expand your memory and train the hands. Take special care to exercise the left hand, playing as fast as you can to prepare for those works that have divisions on the bass.[125]

[125] Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fols. 2*v* – 3*r*.

One thing stands out in Venegas's plan: after loosening your fingers with trilling exercises, the next step is being comfortable playing chords. He makes this clear by showing an example (above) of the chord pattern that will be most useful for this purpose.[126] The resulting progression is the modern equivalent of alternating between the first (tonic) and fifth (dominant) degrees of the major and minor scale. Mechanically, as seen in the transcription above, the left hand plays three notes and the right plays parallel thirds, a skill the importance of which Venegas highlights when he specifies *haciendo terceras con la derecha* [sounding thirds with the right hand] .

These directions provided by Venegas highlight the pedagogical ideology at work in his *Libro,* wherein knowledge is embodied through musical practice. This is manifested in the fact that Venegas's instructions to his reader say nothing of the music theory behind his recommendation of this chord progression. That Venegas recommends *Condes Claros*—a harmonic formula that takes its name from a popular Spanish ballad of the time—as a bridge between the chord progression above (I-V-I) and the *fabordones* in his book is not unexpected, because the difference between them is one chord (IV). The resulting progression

[126] On the pedagogical and practical use of chord progressions as they relate to vihuela see: Roig-Francolí, "Playing in Consonances," 461.

(I-IV-V-I), which is still one of the most popular harmonic formulas in popular music to date, served as the perfect framework for accompanying all sorts of ballads and as the foundation for melodic variations.[127] Given their importance, Venegas suggests to his reader that they practice these formulas several times a day, even if it takes a while (*aunque se este en ella muchos dias*); he then suggests another practicing technique: play all that you have learned at least once a day so that you may commit it to memory and feel more secure in playing.

Figure 26 shows the first page of the table of contents of the *Libro* as organized by Venegas; the pieces in the *Libro* are presented in the table of contents grouped by genre. If Venegas's suggestions above for the beginner are compared with the organization of the contents, we can see that the organization follows the order he suggests should be followed: first the *duos* and the *trios*, then the

[127] After a detailed analysis of the many versions of the ballad and its harmonic formula, Deborah Lawrence states: "The conclusion to be drawn from these examples is that the complex of works known as, or concerning the tale of, 'Conde Claros' are musically, as well as textually, related to each other, representing offshoots from an earlier version of the ballad that was unwritten and remains unknown. The earlier ballad provided a formula on which performers developed, in individual ways, a rendering of that piece, launching their compositions from opening gestures rather than reworking entire passages. The written examples that survive are like snapshots of musical activity, frozen moments in a constantly shifting sonic scene. That eventually the text was jettisoned, its place taken in instrumental music by a chord pattern and then contrapuntal elaborations, is perhaps the inevitable result of the rise of instrumental virtuosi, musicians eager for material with which to display their own talents. Thus, this little progression encapsulates not only approaches to improvisation within a formula, but also the rise of newly structured pieces. See: Deborah Lawrence, "Spain's 'Conde Claros': From Popular Song to Harmonic Formula, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 30:1 (2011), 46-65.

fabordones, then the harder glossed *fabordones* and so on. The individual pieces in the *Libro* are not themselves organized by level of difficulty, but the generic designations provide a general framework for pedagogical progression.

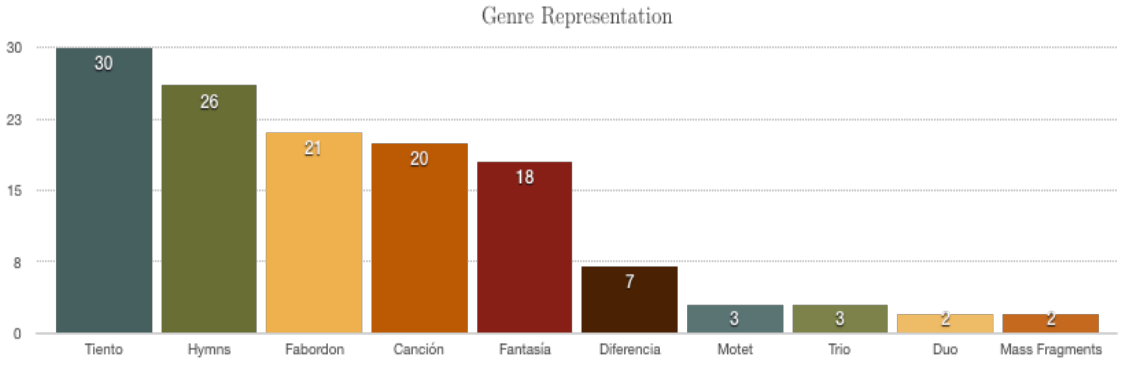
Table 3, below, presents the distribution of genres in Venegas's *Libro*; this data highlights the genres that were arguably the most popular at the time, or at least those deemed more significant by Venegas for pedagogical reasons, and likely with the hope of attracting buyers for his book. In what follows I do not intend to provide a piece by piece analysis of the contents of the *Libro*; rather, I will use the contents of the book as a roadmap for understanding musical trends linked to keyboard practice in 16th-century Spain, and how that aesthetic practice shaped identity. The analysis that follows is organized by genre using Venegas's Table of Contents as a guide (*Figure 26*).[128]

[128] I do not impose modern conceptions of these genres, but rather follow the designation given to them by the editor—Luis Venegeas—in the table of contents of the *Libro*.

Table 3. Genre Representation in Venegas's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* 1557

Genre Representation

GENRE	QUANTITY
Tiento	30
Hymns	26
Fabordon	21
Canción	20
Fantasía	18
Diferencia	7
Motet	3
Trio	3
Duo	2
Mass Fragments	2
Total	132



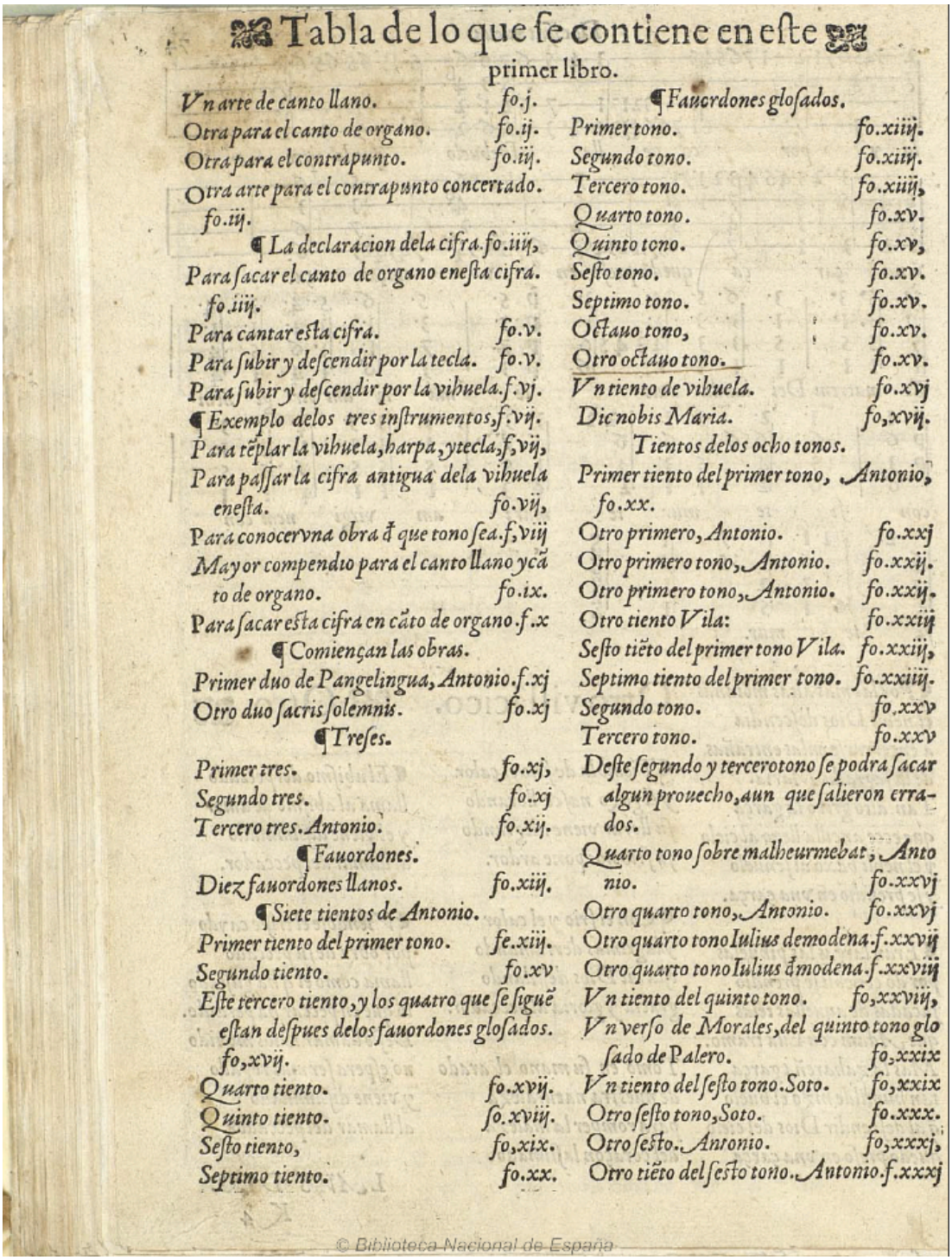


Tabla de lo que se contiene en este primer libro.

Vn arte de canto llano. fo.j.
Otra para el canto de organo. fo.ij.
Otra para el contrapunto. fo.iij.
Otra arte para el contrapunto concertado. fo.iij.
¶La declaracion dela cifra. fo.iiij.
Para sacar el canto de organo enesta cifra. fo.iiij.
Para cantar esta cifra. fo.v.
Para subir y descendir por la tecla. fo.v.
Para subir y descendir por la vihuela. f.vj.
¶Exemplo delos tres instrumentos, f.vij.
Para tẽplar la vihuela, harpa, y tecla, f, vij,
Para passar la cifra antigua dela vihuela eneſta. fo.vij,
Para conocer vna obra ā que tono sea. f, viij
Mayor compendio para el canto llano ycã to de organo. fo.ix.
Para sacar esta cifra en cãto de organo. f.x
¶Comiençan las obras.
Primer duo de Pangelingua, Antonio. f.xj
Otro duo sacris solemnis. fo.xj
¶Treses.
Primer tres. fo.xj,
Segundo tres. fo.xj
Tercero tres. Antonio. fo.xij.
¶Fauordones.
Diez fauordones llanos. fo.xiij.
¶Siete tientos de Antonio.
Primer tiento del primer tono. fe.xiij.
Segundo tiento. fo.xv
Este tercero tiento, y los quatro que se siguẽ estan despues delos fauordones glosados. fo, xvij.
Quarto tiento. fo.xvij.
Quinto tiento. so.xviij.
Sesto tiento, fo, xix.
Septimo tiento. fo.xx.
¶Fauordones glosados.
Primer tono. fo.xiiij.
Segundo tono. fo.xiiij.
Tercero tono. fo.xiiij,
Quarto tono. fo.xv.
Quinto tono. fo.xv,
Sesto tono. fo.xv.
Septimo tono. fo.xv.
Octauo tono, fo.xv.
Otro octauo tono. fo.xv.
Vn tiento de vihuela. fo.xvj
Dic nobis Maria. fo, xvij.
Tientos delos ocho tonos.
Primer tiento del primer tono, Antonio, fo.xx.
Otro primero, Antonio. fo.xxj
Otro primero tono, Antonio. fo.xxij.
Otro primero tono, Antonio. fo.xxij.
Otro tiento Vila: fo.xxiij
Sesto tiẽto del primer tono Vila. fo.xxiij,
Septimo tiento del primer tono. fo.xxiiij.
Segundo tono. fo.xxv
Tercero tono. fo.xxv
Deste segundo y tercero tono se podra sacar algun prouecho, aun que salieron errados.
Quarto tono sobre malheurmebat, Antonio. fo.xxvj
Otro quarto tono, Antonio. fo.xxvj
Otro quarto tono Iulius demodena. f.xxvij
Otro quarto tono Iulius ā modena. f.xxviij
Vn tiento del quinto tono. fo, xxviij,
Vn verso de Morales, del quinto tono glosado de Palero. fo, xxix
Vn tiento del sesto tono. Soto. fo, xxix
Otro sesto tono, Soto. fo.xxx.
Otro sesto. Antonio. fo, xxxj,
Otro tiẽto del sesto tono. Antonio. f.xxxj

Figure 26. The first page, Table of Contents, *Libro de Cifra Nueva*

Duos

The least numerous among the works that may be best categorized as non-liturgical are the *duos*, of which there are only two, and which are the first works in Venegas's book (see Table of Contents, *Figure 27*). As I argued in Chapter 2, both the theoretical and musical sections of the *Libro* are organized in a manner that prioritizes pedagogical impact. It is perhaps no surprise that after the theoretical portions (or *Artes*) on plainchant, polyphony and counterpoint we find one of the more popular vehicles for practicing these concepts: the *duo*. One of the earliest printed collections of pedagogical *duos*, the *Di Duo Chromatici* by Agostino Licino, was printed in Venice as two books in 1545 and 1546.[129] The works in the collection are presented as canons, written with symbols to indicate the starting point of the second voice as can be seen in *Figure 27*.

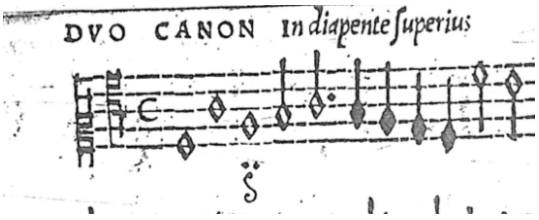


Figure 27. Example of the types of duos in Agostino's collection, showing the symbol for each canonic entrance.

[129] I mention Agostino Licino's book of duos is because it is the earliest *printed* source of such exercises, in what would become a tradition of the pedagogical duo. See: Alfred Einstein,"Vincenzo Galilei and the Instructive Duo" *Music & Letters*, vol. 18, no. 4, (1937), 360-368.

Duos are, of course, nothing new in the 16th century, as the use of these short pieces for pedagogical purposes has been noted in many contemporary sources. The majority of these duos, however, have been lost, apparently because they were seen as ephemeral written exercises for the purpose of practicing the most basic concepts of counterpoint. As seen in the table of contents and in the advice that Venegas offers, these duos were meant as examples of the types of exercises that a beginner keyboard player should use for the developing the skill of playing counterpoint with two hands. The two duos included in the *Libro* (*Pange lingua* and *Sacris solemniis*) straddle the line between liturgical and secular because although the *cantus firmus* in the right hand is based on the melody of the hymns in long notes, there is no text setting to identify it as such; the left hand plays in counterpoint to the *cantus firmus* with shorter note values, in the instrumental style of musical divisions. *Duos* were traditionally used in teaching the rules of counterpoint, but in Venegas's more practically-minded method for keyboard they were likely intended more for teaching hand independence to beginner keyboardists.

Fabordón

Luis Venegas de Henestrosa included a total of 21 compositions under the genre of *fabordón.*[130] The name *fabordón* is an adaptation of the French *fauxbourdon,* the English *faburden* and the Italian *falsobordone*, all of which suggest a "false bass." These similar words describe different types of compositions throughout the centuries; here my aim is to speak only of the Spanish usage of *fabordón* and their inclusion in Venegas's *Libro.* The earliest use of the Spanish term *fabordón*, found in Juan de Lucena's *Libro de vida beata* (ca. 1452-1463), suggests that it referred to a type of polyphony that was more common with unskilled singers, possibly as a way to create polyphony on a simple scale (what he called "por uso," or, common usage); he contrasted the *fabordón* with the type of music sung by skilled musicians (*musicos*) which he called "por razon" (of

[130] There is not an entry for *fabordón* in the Thesaurus by Covarrubias, but there is one for *bordón*, which he defines as a type of bass string, as the fundamental consonance of a composition, and as a type of refrain or repeated vocal tick: "*BORDÓN, en el instrumento musico de cuerdas, es la que suena octava abaxo: y algunas que estan fuera de las que se huellan en el cuello del instrumento, q se tocan tan solamente en vacio para dar las octavas. Bordoncillo, el versecico quebrado, o presa que se repite en la poesia, que a ciertas medidas se acude a él, como para descansar de la corriente que llevan las rimas. Y lo mismo se dirá del bordon de los instrumentos, porque se descansa en él con la consonancia, y con el final. Estos versos se llenan intercalares, Græcê Embolimon, epos. Quãdo alguno tiene por costumbre yendo hablando entremerer alguna palabra que la repite muchas veces, y sin necesidad, dezimos, que es aquel su bordoncillo, porque entre tanto descansa en êl, y piensa lo que ha de dezir, como, Bien me entiende v.m. Sepa v.m. Ya digo. Por manera señor, y otras palabras semejantes a estas.*"

reason or "more learned").[131] Recent research by Giuseppe Fiorentno has shown that the use of *fabordon* in Spain was tightly bound with the practice of improvised polyphony. Further, his research suggests that the practice of *fabordón* was disparaged by professional musicians, and that the practice was also the realm of amateurs who were not able to improvise counterpoint.[132] What is salient about the 21 *fabordones* included by Venegas in his *Libro* is that he divides them into two kinds: *fabordon llano* (plain fabordon) and *fabordon glosaso* (glossed fabordon). The *fabordones* in Venegas's *Libro* exhibit the characteristics of late *fauxbourdon* described by Ernest Trumble in his extended study of the genre: they are in duple meter, meant for recitation that is mostly syllabic in which the reciting tone of the mode is used as the *cantus firmus*; the only non-harmonic tones are usually found in cadences in the form of suspensions or anticipations, and the majority of these late examples are in four voices rather than three.[133] *Example 1* below demonstrates what Venegas means by *fabordon llano*: a series of

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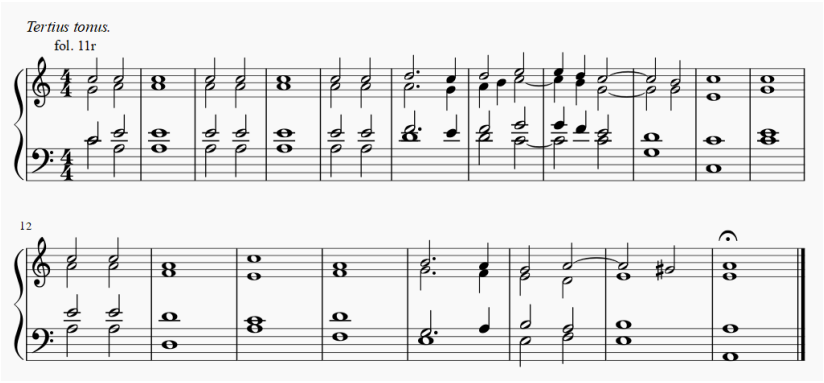
[131] Trowell, Brian. "Fauxbourdon," *Grove Music Online*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[132] Giuseppe Fiorentino, "*Contrapunto* and *fabordón*: Practices of extempore polyphony in Renaissance Spain," in Massimiliano Guido, ed., *Studies in Historical Improvisation: from Cantare Super Librum to Partimenti* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 72-89.

[133] Ernest Trumble, *Fauxbourdon: an Historical Survey*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 63.

root position chords in four voices, all organized in common time in a slow-moving harmonic pace (usually two chords per measure), with the reciting tones of the mode highlighted by the use of long notes (one chord per measure).

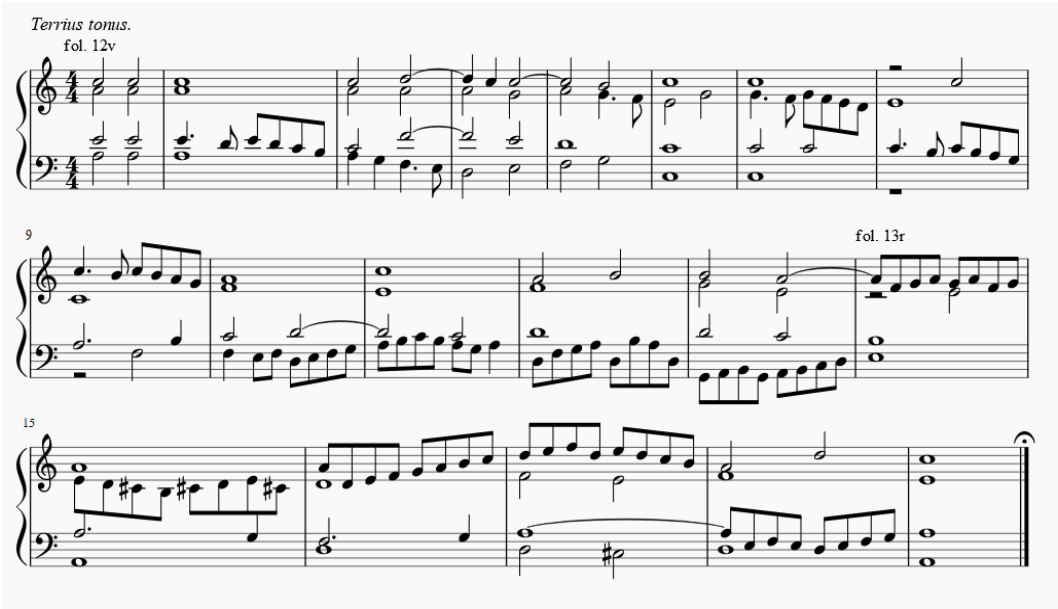


Example 1. *Fabordon llano* in the 3rd mode, *Libro de Cifra, fol. 11r.*

The *fabordones* in Venegas's *Libro* were employed as harmonic formulas for the recitation of Psalms, and not hymns, as was the case with earlier use.[134] The examples of *fabordones* included by Venegas are not necessarily remarkable in the 16th century Spanish context; the *Fabordones glosados*, however, are unique in that they seem to change the purpose of the genre and point toward a practice in which the keyboard is central. As seen in *Example 2* below, in a *fabordón glosado* the left and right hands alternate between chordal passages and melodic figurations that at times are reminiscent of a descant. An important characteristic to note in this example is the way that the *glosas* (i.e., melodic figurations) added

[134] See: Trumble, *Fauxbourdon*, 62.

to the chord structure make use of points of imitation with the motive in measure 2 in the tenor imitated in m. 7 in the alto, m. 8 in the tenor, and m. 9 in the soprano, followed again by a quasi-inverted imitative start of the bass in m. 10. As we have seen above, these pieces did not just have a liturgical function as recitation formulas: they were also a source of practice material for the keyboard player and provided ready-made harmonic formulas upon which the keyboardist could improvise (as is the case of the *glosa*) and with which to accompany other melodies.[135]



Example 2. *Fabordón glosado,* in the 3rd mode, *Libro de Cifra, fol. 12v.*

[135] These types of glossed *fabordón* are aesthetically and structurally very similar to late 15th-century *fundamenta*, particularly the compositions by Conrad Paumann in the work *Fundamentum Organisandi.*

Tientos and *Fantasías*

There is a great deal of confusion in the 16th century regarding the nomenclature of the genres of *tiento* and *fantasia*; these textless, purely instrumental genres, however, are among the most widely represented in Venegas's *Libro*, which contains 30 works labeled *tiento* and 18 labeled *fantasia*, representing more than a third of the books 132 musical works. The *tiento* in Spain is an essential building block in the development of instrumental repertoire, especially for keyboard instruments. Louis Jambou considers the genre as the originator of the future of instrumental music in 16th-century Spain ["fecundador del futuro de la musica instrumental"].[136] This importance is due in part to the fact that the *tiento* was the preferred musical genre for exploring instrumental counterpoint akin to the imitative counterpoint that was the signature style of vocal polyphony at the time;[137] in this way, the *tiento* was the "keeper and conservator of a modal language the possibilities of which it helped to exhaust."[138]

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[136] Louis Jambou, "El tiento en Cabezón. Reflexiones sobre el Tiento IV de 'Antonio' contenido en el *Libro de cifra Nueva* de Venegas de Henestrosa," *Anuario Musical* [En línea], 0.69 (2014), 51-60. 52.

[137] Although the genre of the tiento is primarily conceived as instrumental in nature, research has shown a preliminary connection between the *tiento* and vocal polyphony. On this point see: Kateryna Schöning, "Vocal Basis in *Tientos* by Luis Milán and Alonso Mudarra: Myth or Reality?" in Tess Knighton & Emilio Ros-Fabregas (eds.) *New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2015), 39-55.

[138] Jambou, "El tiento en Cabezón," 53.

Jambou, who wrote extensively on the origin of the *tiento* in Spain, also highlighted the slippage that exists in the nomenclature used for such instrumental polyphonic works.[139] Other terms used to refer to works composed with fugal entries and imitative counterpoint were *ricercare* (primarily in Italy), *fantasia*, and *fuga*.[140]

While it would seem that the terms *tiento* and *fantasia* are used interchangeably by Venegas (and his contemporaries), Venegas is actually quite specific about the use of the term in his table of contents. Upon close examination, he only uses *tiento* to refer to works to be performed primarily on the keyboard, while he reserves the term *fantasia* only for those to be performed on the vihuela. *Figure 28* below shows the designations of *tientos* for vihuela as *fantasias*.

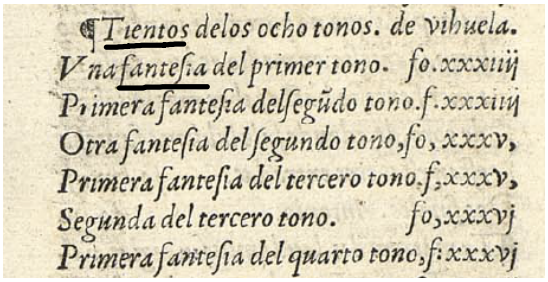

Figure 28. Selection of the *Libro's* table of contents that shows Venegas use of the terms *tiento* and *fantasia* [underlined for illustration].

[139] Louis Jambou, *Les Origines Du Tiento* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982).

[140] Ben Ridler, and Louis Jambou. "Tiento." *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Also see: Judd, *The use of notational formats at the keyboard*, 42.

My preliminary interpretation of the matter has to do with voicing: the works labeled as *fantasias* are written mostly in counterpoint for three voices, whereas the *tientos* use primarily four voice counterpoint. Although reaching a more solid conclusion would require a detailed analysis and comparison of the *tientos* and *fantasias*, my hypothesis is based on the correspondence of voicing and genre title. Of the 30 *tientos* in the collection, 24 have been attributed to specific authors; *Table 4* shows the breakdown of such attributions. Antonio de Cabezón is the composer to whom most of the *tientos* in the book are attributed (15 of 30); Cabezón is credited using his first name only [Antonio], a tribute to his renown as chamber organist to Emperor Charles V.[141]

In his *Declaracion de Instrumentos* (see Chapter 1) Juan Bermudo included a short list of contemporary organists he thought were worthy of emulation, three of whom have *tientos* attributed to them in Venegas's *Libro*:

> I call excellent [keyboard] players Juan, prebend at the Church of Málaga; the Prebend Villada at the Church [cathedral?] of Seville; Mister Villa in Barcelona; as well as Soto and Antonio de Cabezón, His Majesty's [keyboard] players.[142]

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[141] These attributions were first published in the work of Pedrell and Anglés. See: Pedrell, *Hispaniae schola musica sacra*, Vol. VIII, iv. Also: Anglès, *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V*, 169.

[142] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales* Book IV (1555), *folio* lx *v.*: "*Excellentes tañedores llamo a don Iuan racionero en la yglesia de malaga, al racionero Villada*

Table 4. Tiento attributions in the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*

Attribution	**Quantity**	**Origin**	**Post**	**Mentioned by Bermudo**
Antonio [de Cabezón]	15	Spain	Organist, Emperor's chamber	Yes
[Francisco Fernandez] Palero	3	Spain	Organist, Royal Chapel Granada	No
Julius de Modena (Giulio Segni)	2	Italy	Organist, St. Mark's Venice	No
[Pedro Alberch] Vila	2	Spain	Organist, Barcelona Cathedral	Yes
[Francisco de] Soto	2	Spain	Organist, Royal Chapel Granada; Clavichordist, Isabella of Portugal	Yes

Given his privileged position as a member of the Emperor's musical establishment, Cabezón clearly had an important role in the dissemination of keyboard practice in Spain during the 16th century. Francisco Fernandez Palero has three *tientos* attributed to him, the second most credited composer in the list. Francisco de Soto—the clavichordist for the Empress Isabella of Portugal (consort of Charles V) and organist at the Royal Chapel of Granada—and Pedro Alberch Vila—organist at the Barcelona Cathedral—both have two *tientos* attributed to them in the *Libro*. Venegas also includes two *tientos* by Julius of Modena (i.e. Giulio Segni), who was the organist at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice from 1550

en la yglesia de Sevilla, a Mosen vila en Barcelona, a Soto y Antonio de cabeçon tañedores de su magestad."

to 1552, and later in the service of Cardinal Sforza in Rome.[143] The works presented here by Venegas are taken from a collection printed in 1540 containing Segni's works called *Musica Nova Accomodata per cantar et sonar sopra organi et altri stromenti* [New Music Arranged to sing and play on organs and other instruments]; unfortunately only the *bassus* part-book survives, but analysis of the attributions has shown that Venegas made changes to the pieces, including cutting measures altogether, the reason for which is still unclear.[144] The pieces by Segni included by Venegas in his book were initially published in the *Musica Nova* as *ricercares*, providing further evidence that the generic terminology was used interchangeably between *fantasia, tiento,* and *ricercare*. Giulio Segni's pieces in the *Musica Nova* are the earliest *ricercares* in which points of imitation are used consistently, which may have been the reason why Venegas included them in his *Libro*, as the *tientos* in his collection are mostly constructed around points of imitation.[145]

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[143] H. Colin Slim and Kimberly Marshall, "Segni, Julio," *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[144] Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material," 110.

[145] Slim, "Segni, Julio" *Grove Music Online*.

Hymns[146]

Hymn settings are the most numerous genre of sacred music in the *Libro*; there are 26 hymns, to about 20% of the total contents of Venegas's collection. *Table 5* shows the hymns and their representation in the *Libro*, along with their use; analysis of this table demonstrates that the largest number of hymns fall into one of two categories: Vespers and Lent (or Passion).

Table 5. Hymns in the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, their representation and use.

Hymn	**Quantity**	**Season/Office**	**Comments**
Ave Maris Stella	7	Vespers	Marian
Pange lingua	5	Passion	1 ex. by Urrede
Conditor alme siderum	1	Vespers	Advent
Dic nobis Maria	1	Easter	Marian, text is part of the *Victimæ paschali laudes*
O gloriosa domina	2	Lauds	Marian, second half of *Quem terra, pontus, æthera*
O lux beata Trinitas	1	Vespers	Saturdays, Trinity Sunday
Sacris solemnis	2	Corpus Christi	Written on commission, St. T. Aquinas
Quem terra pontus	1	Matins	Marian, see: *O gloriosa…*
Cum invocarem	1	Lent	Psalm 4

[146] Covarrubias defines hymn in his Thesaurus of 1611 as follows: "HIMNO, Latinê hymnus, cantus in laudem alicuius, a nominee Græco *ymnos*. Esto es en la Gentilidad, pero oy dia llamamos hymnos los cantos en metro, que se cantan en alabança, y gloria de Dios, y de sus santos […]

Non accedet ad te malum	1	Lent	Psalm 90, Part of *In minibus portabunt te*
In Pace in idipsum	1	Lent	1st antiphon for Holy Saturday
Te lucis ante terminum	1	Compline	
Salve, Regina	1	Lent	Marian

The most popular hymn among the lot is the *Ave Maris Stella,* of which there are 7 examples in the book; six of these examples are attributed to Antonio Cabezón, and one example is by Fancisco Fernandez de Palero (see the section on "Mass Fragments"). The *Ave Maris Stella* became popular in the Middle Ages because of its frequent use in the Divine Office, it is a hymn for extolling the virtues of mercy attributed to Mary and portrays her as the Star of the Seas. This particular metaphor could have made it an especially popular hymn with travelers (pilgrims) and seamen: two particular types of travel widespread in Spain due to both its ultramarine explorations (especially in the 16th century), and the large presence of pilgrims on their way to Compostela.

The second most numerous hymn-setting is the *Pange Lingua*, of which there are 5 versions in the book, all of which are presented in versions by Antonio de Cabezón. This hymn is primarily used in liturgical celebrations of the True Cross, the Passion, and the Eucharist (in itself a daily celebration of the Passion), which explains its place of prominence among other hymn-settings. *Table 5* is a

summary of the liturgical needs fulfilled by the contents of the *Libro*: one third (9) of the hymns are for Vespers, one third (9) are meant for Lent or for celebrations of the Passion, and the remainder are for various feasts and Hour such as Easter (1), Lauds (2), Matins (1) and Compline (1). The data also highlights the seeming importance of Marian devotion, since close to half of the hymns (11) are dedicated to Mary.

The hymns in the collection are closely connected to the Spanish hymn tradition, represented primarily by a project of Cardinal Ximenez, who gathered Spanish hymn tunes in a collection known as the *Intonarium Toletanum* (Toledo Tonary), printed in 1515 at the Alcalá de Henares workshop of Arnao Guillen Brócar. Venegas's *Libro* was printed 30 years later in the same workshop by Arnao's son, Juan Brocar. As I argued in Chapter 2, the university city of Alcalá played an important role in shaping the *Libro*'s pedagogical outline, and here we see evidence that it was also influential in terms of its musical content. We find corroboration of this theory in two inclusions of the *Libro*: a setting of the *Pange lingua* and that of the advent hymn *Conditor alme siderum*. The setting by Juan Urrede of one of the five *Pange linguae* found in the book is transmitted in Spain through a Toledo manuscript, *E-Tc 2*, and the *Intonarium Toletanum*; Urrede's version of this hymn became one of the most popular compositions of the 16th

century, and it too is presented in the *Libro*, perhaps unsurprisingly, in a version by Antonio de Cabezón.[147]

The *Conditor alme siderum* is the first hymn in the *Intonarium Toletanum* and there is just one example of this hymn setting for keyboard in the *Libro*. This single hymn setting would likely be unremarkable if it were not for one detail: it is attributed to a woman, Gracia Baptista, who is identified in the *Libro* as *monja* (nun). This hymn is not only the first documented piece of a female composer in the Iberian peninsula, but may also be the first polyphonic piece attributed to a woman printed in Europe.[148]

Mass fragments

Among the liturgical works in the *Libro*, music that forms part of the Mass ordinary is hardly represented. There are two mass sections the book found consecutively on folios 54*v* and 54*r*—*Kyrie I* and *Kyrie II* from Josquin des Prez's *Missa de Beata Virgine*—both of which are arranged for keyboard and intabulated

[147]Warren Anderson, et al., "Hymn," *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[148] For a complete analysis and new transcription of the piece, see: Josemi Lorenzo Arribas, "Gracia Baptista y otras Organistas del Siglo XVI Ibérico" *Revista De Musicología*, vol. 34, no. 2, (2011), 263–284.

by Francisco Fernandez Palero.[149] The appearance of this work in Venegas's book may be explained by the fact that, based on source dissemination, this was one of Josquin's more popular masses.[150] The title given to this arrangement on the page is "*Primer Kyrie de Iusquin glosado"* [First glossed Kyrie of Josquin], and only in the table of contents is the author of the arrangement identified as Francisco Fernandez Palero: "*primer Kyrie de Iusquin glosado de Palero,*" as can be seen in *Figure 29.*

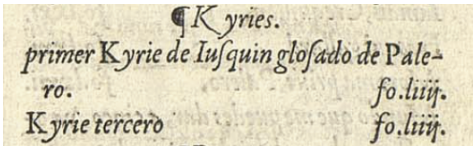
¶ Kyries.
primer Kyrie de Iuſquin gloſado de Pale-
ro. fo.liiij.
Kyrie tercero fo.liiij.

Figure 29. Entry for the *Kyries* in the table of contents identifying Josquin and Palero.

The research of Keneth Kreitner and Emilio Ros-Fábregas has shown that sections of Josquin *Missa de Beata Virgine Maria (BVM)*, such as the *Gloria*, were already copied in the Barcelona manuscript known as BarcBC 454/B, 11[151] sometime around 1510, as the manuscript as a whole is believed to have been

[149] Almonte Howell, "Fernández Palero, Francisco." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[150] Patrick Macey, et al., "Josquin (Lebloitte dit) des Prez," *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[151] Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (formerly Biblioteca Central), MS 454.

compiled before 1525.[152] Ottaviano Petrucci published the complete *Missa BVM* in his third printed collection of Josquin's *Masses* in 1514;[153] further, this *Kyrie* fragment was already published as a vihuela intabulation by Alonso de Mudarra in his vihuela book, *Tres obras de Musica,* printed in 1546.[154] The complete mass by Josquin is also present in Diego Pisador's vihuela collection of 1552 called *Libro de Musica de Vihuela* which aimed to make available complete mass cycles by Josquin in vihuela arrangement.[155] As explained by John Griffiths, Pisador "championed the music of Josquin whom he believed to be inexplicably absent from other tablature collections and included eight of the master's masses [in his book]."[156] But why would Venegas use precious space (and paper) in his collection publishing something that was available elsewhere? I argue that the answer to this question reveals the *raison d'être* of Venegas's *Libro* as a whole: while the

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[152] On the dating of this source, see Emilio Ros-Fábregas,'The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, New York: City University of New York, 1992), i, 179–85.

[153] Planchart suggests that the mass sections were compiled and put together by Petrucci himself for his book of Masses, which would explain the different vocal forces at the beginning and end.

[154] Mudarra, *Tres Libros de Musica*, fol. 4.

[155] Pisador, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela,* fols. 67 – 73.

[156] See: John Griffiths, "Printing the Art of Orpheus: Vihuela Tablatures in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberg, 2006), 182-214.

music might have been available elsewhere, it was previously unavailable as arrangements for keyboard instrument made by keyboard players, but rather by players of the vihuela.[157]

The confirmation of this hypothesis is found in the arranger himself: Francisco Fernandez Palero. Palero was a composer and organist who served as the organist to the Royal Chapel in Granada, a post that placed him at the forefront of keyboard practice in 16th-century Spain. Further, Palero is credited with arranging (if not outright composing) a total of 14 pieces in the *Libro* (almost 10% of its contents). The two mass fragments by Palero are also indicative of important trends in the areas of keyboard pedagogy and liturgy. Pedagogically speaking, this piece shows how a particular type of vocal composition—in this case canons and double canons—are adapted to the keyboard interface; the way that Josquin's mass was constructed around motivic material is the reason this particular mass was used as pedagogical and compositional examples from circulating scraps of paper to the works of Glarean.[158] Secondly, this piece was

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[157] Venegas's instructions in his *Libro* on how to translate the old style of vihuela tablature into his new cipher is not only a confirmation that Venegas's method was aimed at keyboardists, but that he wanted to give keyboard players a tool with which to access music ciphered using other methods. On this point see: Griffiths, "Printing the Art of Orpheus," 187.

[158] Macey, "Josquin (Lebloitte dit) des Prez." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

teaching a particular liturgical tradition: the Roman Rite—which along with the Burgundian Rite established for the Emperor's chapel—was introduced in Spain at the beginning of the 16th century and was slowly supplanting regional liturgies (more on this below).

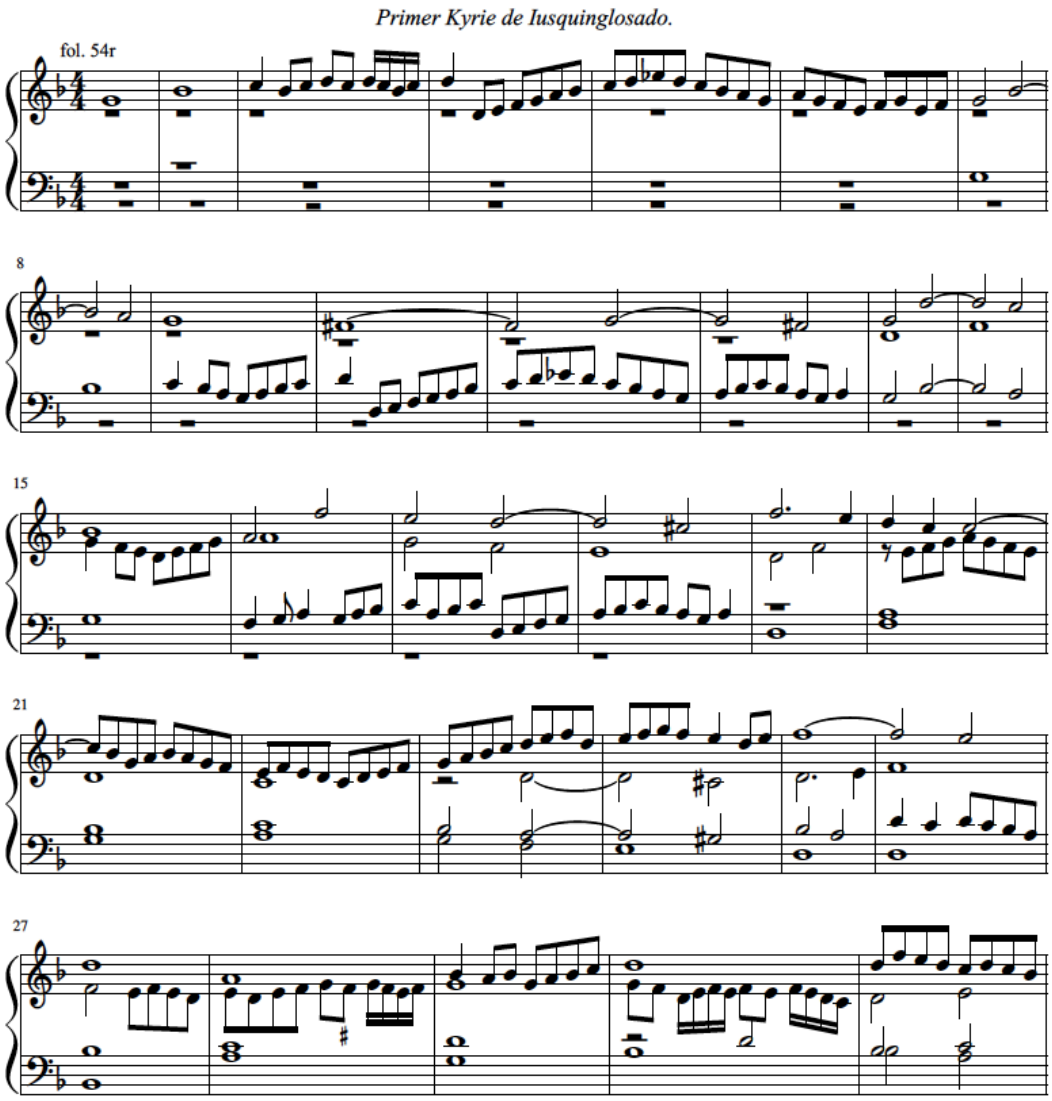
To better understand the intabulation by Palero, we must know the basics of Josquin's compositional process for his *Kyrie*. Josquin chose a G transposition of *Kyrie IX*—the traditional chant used in votive masses—as a *cantus firmus* for his *Missa De Beata Virgine*; this choice both signals that the composition is a *cantus firmus* mass—one of five such masses written by Josquin—but also a votive mass to the Virgin (i.e. "Lady Mass").[159] He presents the first phrase of the chant (G pitch center) in canon: first in the superius and then in the tenor; the alto and bass are also in canon but the canon is based on the second phrase of the *Kyrie* chant (D pitch center). Josquin then uses paraphrases of the cadential formulas of both chant phrases as the basis for additional connective material between canonic entrances. Not only does Josquin play with the cadential formulas and the tension created by the simultaneous use of the chant phrases, but he also

[159] A detailed analysis of this, and other *cantus firmus* masses, can be found in: Alejandro Planchart, "Masses on Plainsong Cantus Firmus," *The Josquin Companion,* Richard Sherr and Edward Wickham, eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126.

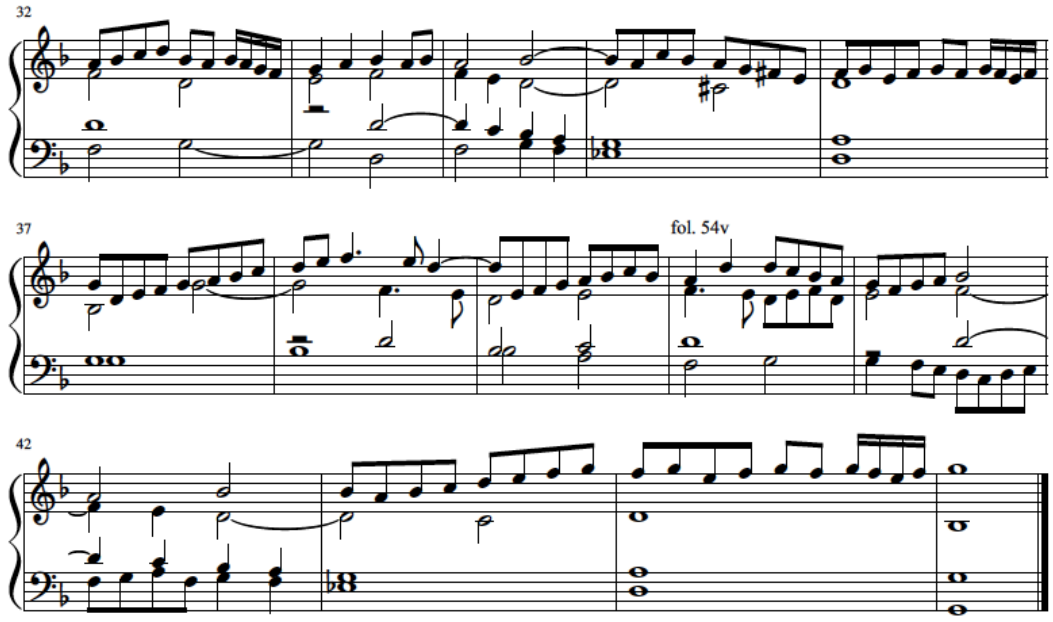
plays with the chant range, occasionally displacing octaves in the middle of a chant phrase.[160]

Palero employs the same canonic structure in his intabulation of Josquin's *Kyrie* (*example 3*); in fact most of the polyphony is left intact. His glosses, discussed below, highlight that the changes made by Palero to the polyphony centered around accidentals (*ficta*); unlike Josquin's polyphony, Palero's arrangement strongly emphasizes the G tonal center with the addition of F-sharps to the superius melody (specifically see superius mm. 6, 10, 12, and 35). Palero's contribution was to transform music that was idiomatic for voices into keyboard music, and he did this through the process he and Venegas call glossing [*glossar*, see above]. This glossing [*glossa*] technique can already be seen in the initial superius entrance, in which Palero quotes the first three notes of the chant before adding runs that act as connective material between the subsequent notes of the chant.

[160] Planchart, "Masses on Plainsong Cantus Firmus," 126.



Example 3. *Glossa* by Francisco Palero of *Kyrie I* from Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine.*



(example 3, cont.)

The first addition to the polyphony (and therefore the chant) is in measure 3 and is in fact a written-out version of the ornament of a trill with lower prefix (also known as a *double cadence*). The bass (m. 7) imitates the superius entrance, including a simplified version of the gloss, making only minor melodic adjustments to it to accommodate the superius line above it (mm 1-15). As I pointed out in my discussion of the *fabordones glosados* above, the majority of the glossing activity in Palero's intabulation takes place in the superius line; the alto line—which enters in measure 13 with the second phrase—only has a few additions to

the original polyphony in measures 20, 27-28, 30, and 39. These glosses in the alto line are primarily at cadential points, as in measures 27-28 and 39. The bass, to which only one gloss is added in measures 41 and 42, is the melodic line with the fewest glosses and the only line that presents a mostly-unchanged version of not only the *Kyrie IX* chant, but of the bass part written by Josquin himself. Palero makes three changes to the bass line: in measures 27, 35, and 43. In measure 27 (left hand/bass), Palero adds a lower octave B*b* that is not present in Josquin's version; this B*b* replaces a rest in the polyphony, and doubles the B*b* written in the tenor voice. In a vocal composition this lower *Bb* would have likely been avoided as it creates the need for an awkward leap up a major seventh to the next note (an A); this leap is not technically difficult for a keyboardist to play, and idiomatically correct, but in the context of vocal polyphony it would have broken the rules of counterpoint. Measures 35 and 43 both exhibit the same change made by Palero to Josquin's bass part: the E is lowered to an E*b*. The change lowers the sixth degree of the scale (or *la*) on a passage that descends to D; the addition of the E*b* not only strengthens the cadential motion to D (supported by the C# in the alto) but transforms this cadence into a Phrygian cadence to D: the tonal center of the second phrase of the chant. Another noteworthy change made by Palero to the vocal polyphony affected the harmony in measure 24; there he added

a sharp to the alto and tenor lines, making them into double leading tones. These accidentals were not present in the Josquin original and have the sonic effect of making the cadence sound more arcane (almost like a Landini cadence). What is curious about this change is that the G# was changed to a G natural by Higiní Anglés in his 1944 transcription; this intervention by Anglés was probably a correction, since it is obvious that he thought that such a sonority was a mistake, even though the sharp itself is clearly indicated in the cipher of the intabulation and there is no mention of it in the *errata* by the printer. The result of Anglés "correction" is that the harmony created by the vocal simultaneities was changed from a c# minor chord in first inversion (in the context of tonal center G!) to a diminished chord in first inversion; the change made the harmonic sonority more palatable to a player approaching the music from a late 19th and early 20th century point of view, but changed the harmonic language of Palero's 16th-century arrangement.

Kenneth Kreitner has identified a Spanish manuscript which serves as a testament to the practice of collecting and organizing mass fragments by foreign composers in late 15th- and early 16th-century Spain.[161] That manuscript is SegC

[161] Kenneth Kreitner, "Spain Discovers the Mass," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* 139:2, (2014), 261-302.

s.s., compiled sometime around 1498; not only is this manuscript a source of music by different composers. What makes it remarkable is its compilation and organization: it is organized by number of voices, language of text, by origin and purpose.[162] In this manuscript the compiler shows a concern for organization and for creating a taxonomy of genre for organizing liturgical music according to its purpose. This anthology gives us an insight into the conception of genres in 15th- and 16th-century Spain, highlighting that for genres to be recognized they "had to be invented and sustained for some time before it became solidly established as a musical genre."[163]

I agree that all genres had to be "invented"—that is, their style, purpose, performing forces, and specific characteristics have to be established. Then, in order for a genre to be recognizable as a discreet type of musical composition, those characteristics that were chosen as markers of genre had to be agreed upon and reproduced convincingly by other composers and musical practitioners. What the Segovia manuscript (SegC s.s.) shows in this process is a growing concern for recording, classifying, and organizing music for study and consultation, which Kreitner argues led to the introduction and codification of the cyclic mass in

[162] Ibid., 262.

[163] Ibid.

Spain.[164] Manuscripts such as this also indicate the introduction of foreign liturgical music styles (mainly Burgundian via Rome) to Spain, which was likely due to the political changes brought about by the accession of Charles of Burgundy. In 1517 Charles I of Spain (and Duke of Burgundy) ratified the *Estatutos de la Capilla del Emperador* (*Estatutos*), statutes that aimed to establish the Burgundian liturgical practice in Spain.[165]

Canción **and** ***Romance***

About twenty works in the *Libro* are categorized under the genre of *canción*; however, some ambivalence about this nomenclature persists, as Venegas categorizes songs under the different headings of *romances* and *canción*, with pieces under the heading of *romances* being labeled in their titles as *canción* (see

[164] See also: Andrew Kirkman, "The Invention of the Cyclic Mass" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 54, no. 1, (2001), 1–47.

[165] Aside from such legislative measures, Ian Fenlon's research has shown that the import, printing, and preservation of large amounts of polyphonic books in Spain (more than most any other locality in Europe) was not only due to such legislative reasons, but to the architecture of Spanish churches. One reason he highlights is that, architecturally, collegiate churches in Spain tended to maintain a division between the choir (coro) and the rest of the church structure, creating a private space which contributed to the need or large choir books and led to their preservation. See: Ian Fenlon, "Artus Taberniel: Music Printing and the Book Trade in Renaissance Salamanca," in Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World,* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberg, 2006), 117-146.

Figure 30 below). Table 4 shows the title, author and origin of the works labeled as *cancion* in the *Libro*'s table of contents.

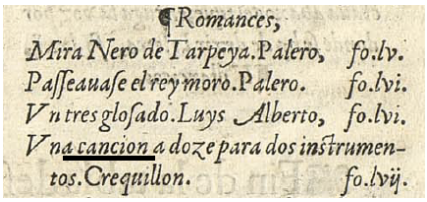


Figure 30. Entry in the Table of Contents showing ambiguity in the generic nomenclature of songs.

What is most striking is that of the twelve songs listed, only two are Spanish in origin and have Spanish texts, while ten of the examples are in French. Further, of the ten French songs, eight are attributed to a single composer: Thomas Crecquillon. What made this particular composer so popular with Venegas and his intended readership? Crecquillon (1505-1557) was a Franco-Flemish composer who spent most of his career in the service of the Spanish monarch and Holy Roman emperor Charles V; Crequillon was one of the most senior members of the chapel of Charles V, serving also as an unofficial court composer.[166]

[166] Barton Hudson, and Martin Ham, "Crecquillon [Crequillon, Cricquillon, Crequillonis, Carchillion, Krequilon etc.], Thomas." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Table 6. Works listed by Venegas under the genre of *Canción*

Fol.	**Title**	**Composer**	**Origin**	**Comments**
67	*De la virgen que parió*	Anonymous	Spanish (?)	
68	*Revuillis vous, tous emoureulx (sic)*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	*Reveillez-vous tous amoureux*
68	*Alix avoit aux dens*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
68v	*Je prens en gre*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
69	*Un Gay bergier*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
69	*Ademy mort par maladie*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
70	*Demandez vous*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
70	*Je vous* (…?)	?	Franco-Flemish (?)	
71	*Pour ung Plaisir*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	
71	*Frais et gaillard ung jour*	Clemens non Papa	Franco-Flemish	
72	*Mort ma prive par sa cruelte*	Crecquillon	Franco-Flemish	Glossed by Palero
72	*Mundo, ¿qué me puedes dar?*	Anon.	Spanish	5 voices. Labeled as a fugue [*fuga*]. Religious theme

Crecquillon's stature as a composer is confirmed by the fact that by the time he retired from service in the Emperor's chapel, he had written 12 masses, 125 motets and close to 200 chansons; only one book of his works was published during his lifetime, Susato's edtion of *Tiers livre de chansons* (1544). His work also circulated in manuscript form and in the many copies made from them; it is likely that Venegas, who was in the service of a high-ranking church official in the government of Charles V would have encountered his music through this connection. Another possibility is that Venegas had access to the Susato edition of Crecquillon's *chansons* from which he made his keyboard arrangements. Given the date of publication for the *Libro* and that of Crecquillon's death—both 1557—one more possibility arises: that this was Venegas's tribute to the famous and well-regarded head of the Emperor's chapel. Whatever the reason, it is of note that no other Franco-Flemish composer receives the same attention in Venegas's *Libro de Cifra Nueva.*

In the section of *canciones* we also find two Spanish examples: *De la virgen que parió* [From the Virgin birth] and *Mundo, ¿qué me puedes dar?* [World, what can you offer me?]. These examples are among the few works in the *Libro* that include the text. This is important because, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Venegas thought that one of the more attractive things about his intabulation

method was that one could not only play but also sing from the ciphered arrangements. *Table 7*, below, shows the intabulated vocal works in the *Libro* that include text; what is remarkable is that there is a total of 12 works that include the text as part of the intabulation. What these works share is that they appear in either Latin or Spanish; further the majority of the texted works are religious in theme, and what is evident from the group is that the Latin-texted works are drawn from established Latin liturgical texts, while the Spanish-texted works seem to be popular in nature, with texts that are not part of the liturgy while still addressing religious themes.

Why choose these specific texts and not others? This question is even more puzzling if one realizes that, while about half of the contents of the book are modeled on vocal music, only a fraction of them actually include text. For example, none of the *chansons* discussed above have their text included in the intabulation but include only the incipit at the beginning of the work. *Table 6* revealed that 10 of the 12 works listed under the genre *canción* are of Franco-Flemish origin and would therefore be texted in French, but none of these songs include the text, while the two songs in the group that are of Spanish origin do in fact include the text in the intabulation. The simple answer may be that the users of a book such as this would have known only Spanish and Latin, so the

items included in this book for liturgical use were set in those languages for the sake of practicality and accessibility. But why not text the many transcriptions of other vocal works? I believe that there could be two answers to this: one possibility is that the pieces in the collection were so well known (or easily available) that all a user needed was an incipit in order to text the arrangement themselves; the other possibility is that the text of these works were not needed because what really mattered to Luis Venegas de Henestrosa—and by extension the instrumentalists using his method—were the musical models that such vocal music could provide, and not the transmission of vocal repertoire in intabulated form per se. I find confirmation for the latter hypothesis in the many examples found in the book by prominent composers—Mass fragments by Josquin, Motets by the more famous composers of the time, etc—none of which have texts included, making the musical material, and not textual content, the central concern of the *Libro*.

Motets

There are three works in the *Libro* that are labeled as *motete(s)* [motets]: Jacquet of Mantua's (1483–1559) *Aspice Domine*; Philippe Verdelot's (ca. 1480–1530) *Si bona suscepimus*; and Jean Mouton's (ca. 1459–1522)[167] *Quæramus cum pastoribus*. Jacquet of Mantua (1483–1559) was a French-born composer who spent most of his professional and musical life in Italy. Mouton served as *maestro di cappella* of Mantua Cathedral (likely the reason for his epithet) from 1534 to 1559.[168] While in Mantua, Jacquet was under the patronage of Ercole Cardinal Gonzaga (1505–63), Bishop of Mantua, and served as papal legate to Charles V of Spain; Gonzaga would also later serve as president of the Council of Trent. I believe that this connection between Jacquet's patron—Cardinal Gonzaga—and the monarch of Spain (also Holy Roman Emperor) is the reason why the motet *Aspice Domine* made it into Venegas's *Libro.* Jacquet of Mantua wrote liturgical music almost exclusively; the characteristic that best describes his compositional style is the use of pervasive imitation.[169] His motet *Aspice domine*

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[167] Howard Mayer Brown, "Mouton [de Holluigue], Jean." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[168] George Nugent, "Jacquet of Mantua." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[169] Ibid.

is known to appear in 40 sources, including in 7 intabulations, among which is the one found in the *Libro* as a *glosa* by Francisco Fernandez Palero.

The second motet found in the *Libro* is by the composer Philippe Verdelot (ca. 1480–1530); Verdelot was a French composer who also spent the greater portion of his career in Italy, spending some time in Venice and Bologna during the first decades of the 16th century, before relocating to Florence where he possibly remained until his death, the date of which is uncertain (although likely to have been around 1530).[170] While in Florence, Verdelot served as *maestro di cappella* at the baptistry of Santa Maria del Fiore from 1522 to 1525 and concurrently at the Florence Cathedral from 1523 to 1527. He is thought to have accompanied Giulio de' Medici to Rome in early 1524 when de' Medici was chosen to serve as Pope Clement VII. The motet by Verdelot found in Venegas's *Libro*—*Si bona suscepimus*—is thought to have been composed during the final, mature phase of Verdelot's output, especially because it is a motet for 5 voices and exhibits the characteristic of his later compositions such as fewer melismatic passages and rhythmic contrasts, longer note values and shorter phrases, and meticulous attention to the union of text and music.[171] Verdelot is known as one

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[170] H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via. "Verdelot [Deslouges], Philippe." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[171] Ibid.

of the earliest exponents of the madrigal, but despite this fame, his only composition in the *Libro* is a late liturgical work, one that is also one of the few examples in the *Libro* that includes the text (see *Table 7*, below).

The third and last motet in the Venegas's collection is Jean Mouton's *Quæramus cum pastoribus*. Mouton, also a French composer, was in charge of musical education at the collegiate church of St André in Grenoble from 1501 to 1502, where he taught plainchant and polyphony.[172] It seems that around 1502 he left this post without permission to take a post at the chapel of Queen Anne of Brittany. He remained in France, and in this post, for the rest of his life. He is considered to be one of the most important writers of motets in the early 16th century, of which 100 survive. He composed the majority of these works for special celebrations at the French court.[173] His stature as composer in residence at the French court, in combination with the large output of motets that were circulated in manuscripts and printed editions in his lifetime, may explain his inclusion in the *Libro*: a posthumous edition of his complete motets was made available by

[172] L. Royer, "Les musiciens et la musique à l'ancienne collégiale Saint-André de Grenoble du XVe au XVIIIe siècle," *Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol.4 (1937), 237–73.

[173] Howard Mayer Brown, "Mouton [de Holluigue], Jean." *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

the Paris publisher Le Roy and Ballard in 1555, just two years prior to the printing of Venegas's collection.

Additionally, *Quæremus cum pastoribus* was used by Cristobal Morales as the basis for his parody mass *Missa Quæremus cum pastoribus*, yet another sign of its transmission in Spain.[174] These pieces have two things in common: one is that they appear in the *Libro* as arrangements (*glosas*) credited to Francisco Fernandez Palero, the organist at the Royal Chapel in Granada and the arranger of mass fragments by Josquin discussed above; and, secondly, that the motets are all by French-born composers. That there are no Spanish-born composers among the examples of motets is more telling because it signals either a preference for Franco-Flemish composers of the genre, or a lack of access to the music of contemporary Spanish composers.[175] Although more work needs to be done on this topic to come to a conclusion, I believe that the music being reproduced here is music that was available in other printed collections to which Venegas would have

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[174] B.-A. Wallner, "La messe *Quaeramus cum pastoribus* de Cristobal Morales et son modèle, le motet de Jean Mouton," *Musica sacra*, vol.45 (1938), 172–6.

[175] The motet in Spain has a curious genesis. It was an imported genre which then was emulated by several generation of composers. Kenneth Kreitner's research suggests that, in fact, there are many mature examples of the genre by Francisco de Peñalosa and his contemporaries, so the omission of Spanish repertoire is particularly striking. See: Kenneth Kreitner, "Spain Discovers the Motet," *The Motet around 1500: on the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?.* Ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

had access to, and perhaps he had more limited access to manuscript collections in which Spanish composers of the late 15th- and early 16th-century were featured.

Table 7. Texted intabulations in the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*

Fol.	**Title**	**Composer**	**Language**	**Comments**
50r.	*Iesu Christo hombre y Dios*	Anonymous	Spanish	
50v.	*Sacris solemniis Ioseph Vir*	Morales	Latin	Toledo, *Códice 25*
51r.	*Cum invocarem exaudivit*	Anon.	Latin	Psalm in *fabordón*
52r.	*In pace in idipsum*	Anon	Latin	Antiphon, Holy Saturday
53r.	*Salve Regina*	Cabezón	Latin	Lent
60v.	*Míralo como llora*	Anon. trad.	Spanish	
60v-61r.	*Aspice Domine*	Jachet de Mantua	Latin	
62v.	*Si bona suscepimus*	Phillipe Verdelot	Latin	Sistine Chapel, *Codex 38*
67v.	*De la Virgen que parió*	Anon.	Spanish	
72v.	*Mundo, ¿qué me puedes dar?*	Anon.	Spanish	5 voices. Labeled as a fugue [*fuga*]. Religious theme
73v.	*Al rebuelo de una garza*	Anon.	Spanish	*Villancico* with alternate texts given.
74r.	*Te matrem dei laudamus*	Anon.	Latin	

Diferencias

There are seven works in the *Libro* labeled *differencias* (or *diferencias*); the term seems to have its earliest use in the printed collection of vihuela music called *Delphín de música* (Dolphin of music) by Luis Nerváez printed in Spain in 1538. Usually musicians define *diferencia* as variations, or divisions of notes, in a piece; but I argue that we are able to get closer to a contemporaneous meaning if we explore the definition provided by Covarrubias in his *Thesaurus* of 1611.[176] There is no entry for *diferencia* per se, but there is one for its root, *diferir*, which Covarrubias defines as follows:

> [*DIFERIR, dilatar, y entretener la execucion de alguna cosa; del verbo Latino differo; spatium temporis extendo: y de alli se dixo Dilacion.*]
>
> "To differ, to delay, and muse on the execution of something; from the Latin verb *differo*; *spatium temporis extendo* [to extend space in time]: and from it derives Delay."

A complementary definition, that of the word *dilatar* [delay] is useful in getting the full meaning of Covarrubias, as he basically thinks of the words as synonyms:

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[176] Grove defines *diferencia* as: "A term for 'variation' in 16th-century Spanish instrumental music. One of its earliest appearances was in Luys de Narváez's *Los seys libros de delphín* (1538)." SEE: "Diferencia (i)." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Also: Elaine Sisman, "Variations." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

> [*DILATAR, vale estender, alargar, diferir, a verbo dilato.as. Latum facio, late explico, propago. Dilacion, detenimiento, mora.*]
>
> "Delay, means to extend, elongate, differ, from the verb *dilato/a*, to spread, to unfold, to explain, to extend. Delay, a pause, to dwell."

What is curious in the early 17th-century Spanish definition of the term (the earliest we have), is that it has very little to do with changing or varying things (or notes), but rather more closely describes how things unfold over time. In this context the term *diferencia* thus concerns itself not with creating differences on a melody—the way that variation is understood today—but rather in extending that melody over time. Because this term was first used to refer to a composition for vihuela, a plucked string instrument which, like the harpsichord and clavichord, has a rather fast sonic decay, the idea of delaying [*dilatar*] that decay through the addition of more notes that unfold over time [*spatium temporis extendo*] seems like a more appropriate way of conceptualizing this genre.

Another way that the term could be interpreted is suggested by the phrase "*entretener la execucion de alguna cosa,*" that is, to muse on the execution of something. This phrase not only suggests that works of this genre are for the entertainment of the player and listener, but also that the additions of notes and

florid passages—as are found in all *diferencias*—are part of the process of getting to know and understand the original tune.

The first of the seven *diferencias* in the *Libro* comprises five sets of differences on the theme of *Condes Claros*. *Condes Claros* is the name of a vastly popular 16th-century Spanish *romance*; while there are several versions of the popular tale, it usually tells the story of a count Claros who fell in love with the daughter of the Emperor, who finds out about this transgression and sentences the count to death. The Count's uncle, a cardinal, admonishes his nephew for straying from the way of virtue, stating that women bring about the moral demise of men; the Count states that a man cannot be called so without a woman, and points out that a cardinal is not one to give advice on love and relationships.[177] The elements of the story go to the heart of Spanish society, involving the lower nobility, the clergy, the aristocracy, and elements of courtly love, all of which combine to create a story-turned-song of great popularity, one that was used as a morality tale. Of the seven tablature books printed in Spain (see Ch. 2, Table 1), four contain *diferencias* for *Condes Claros* appear in: Luis Nerváez's *El Delphin* (1538), Alonso de Mudarra's *Tres Libro de Música* (1546), Enríquez de

[177] The full text of this *romance* can be found in: Agustín Durán, *Romancero General: O, Colección De Romances Castellanos Anteriores Al Siglo Xviii.*, No. 362, (1945), 218.

Valderrábano's *Silva de Sirenas* (1547), and Diego de Pisador's *Libro de Musica para Vihuela* (1552); that the majority of these vihuela prints contain settings of *Condes Claros* attests to the popularity of the tune. Its appearance in Venegas's *Libro* marks the first time this tune is made available in an arrangement for keyboard instrument.

The second *diferencia* found in Venegas's collection is called *Las Vacas* [The Cows]. In the context of the present discussion this piece is significant because it was in a version of *Las Vacas* in Luis de Nerváez's *Delphin de Musica* that the term *diferencias* was used to refer to the style of adding notes and runs to a pre-existing melody.[178] In his analysis of this piece, Higiní Anglés, points out that it is based on the psalm cadence for mode I (D), and that the name *Las Vacas* refers to one of many mnemonic devices used for remembering the cadential formlas of the *saeculorum*; in this case the phrase *Guárdame las vacas, Carrillejo, y besarte* [put away my cattle, wagoneer, and I shall be grateful] was the mnemonic formula used because it corresponds in the melody of the popular song to a cadence in mode I.[179] Therefore all pieces called *vacas*, *las vacas*, *vacas altas*,

[178] "Diferencia (i)." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[179] On this point see: Anglés, *La Musica en la Corte de Carlos V,* 180.

and so on, refer to versions of this cadence and the *diferencias* are constructed around the cadential melodic fragment.

Two of the *diferencias* are based on popular songs (*romances*) for which there are no concordances to date: *Pues no me quereis hablar* ("Since you will not speak to me") and *Para quién crié cabellos* ("For whom did I grow my hair?"). In fact the majority of the *diferencias* are based on popular Spanish songs. The remaining two *diferencias* in the collection serve as evidence for the close connection during the 16th century between Spain and the Spanish Kingdom of Naples.[180] These consist of a *Pavane* and a gloss (*Pavana con su glosa*), and a *Rugier glosado.* Here *Rugier* refers to one of the many harmonic and melodic formulae that were popular in the 16th century for variations and accompaing poetry: the *ruggiero.* In Italy, the formula was used to sing the style of poetry associated with oral Epics (*ottava rima*).[181] It was used primarily as a recurring bassline (one that albeit implies a harmonic formula), for accompanying poetry, and as the foundation for *diferencias,* very much as is also the case with *Condes Claros.* Both of these Italian examples are presented in the *Libro* as arrangements

[180] For a detailed study of this political and musical relationship see: Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[181] Giuseppe Gerbino, and Alexander Silbiger. "Ruggiero (i)." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

attributed to Antonio de Cabezón; Cabezón usually accompanied Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) as part of his musical retinue, and perhaps Cabezon became acquainted with the music during one such travel to Italy with the monarch. The first use of the term *pavane* to refer to the genre is found in Joan Ambrosio Dalza's lute tablature—*Intabulatura de lauto*—published in Venice by Petrucci in 1508.[182]

Conclusions

In this chapter, I offer a quantitative overview of the repertoire collected by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa in his *Libro de Cifra Nueva* with the aim of constructing a panorama of the musical networks represented by its contents, and of highlighting the socio-political elements that might have influenced Venegas's choices. One thing seems clear: Venegas organized his *Libro* by genre, and this generic organization with the aim of providing access to a wide range of musical types. It was also a pedagogical framework for those looking to learn to play various types of music on the keyboard.

[182] Alan Brown, "Pavan," *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The majority of the pieces in Venegas's collection are heavily influenced by the techniques of contemporary polyphonic vocal models, particularly the technique of imitative counterpoint. These pieces are either transcriptions or arrangements of such works, or directly inspired by that technique. The *tiento* and *fantasía* are the most widely represented genre in the book, genres that are technically constructed around points of imitation and counterpoint that are similar to the techniques of vocal music represented by the examples of intabulated polyphony in the book. Venegas seems proud to mention in the *Prologue* that he knows some beginners able to play and improvise a "fantasía" after a short time spent with his method; that anecdotal assertion and the inclusion of works that primarily demonstrate imitative counterpoint suggest to me that one of the aims of Venegas's method is to teach how to play keyboard in the particular style of vocal polyphony.

The *fabordones* included in the *Libro* are perhaps the best example of a genre that straddles the line between instrumental and vocal performance. Because of their structure—unlike the *fabordones*, mainly harmonic progressions in root position chords—they could be used both to deliver liturgical texts (psalms) as well as to serve the keyboardist as sources for harmonic formulae.

Further the *fabordones* here also serve a pedagogical purpose, named by Venegas among the genres suitable for the beginning keyboard player.[183]

In terms of pieces derived or arranged from actual vocal polyphony, Venegas had a preference for Franco-Flemish composers and compositions. The Mass fragments found in the collection represent not only the works of Josquin, but more precisely the kind of music-making that was possible by excerpting and arranging pre-existing vocal polyphony for performance through the medium of the keyboard instrument. In contrast to these examples of vocal polyphony, the motets in the *Libro* seem more concerned with the transmission of the vocal work itself than simply of its musical forms; evidence of this is that two of the three examples included by Venegas are set with text: Jachet de Mantua's *Aspice Domine* and Phillipe Verdelot's *Si bona suscepimus.* Note that the motets are all examples of the 16th-century French motet tradition, pointing to the types of sources available to Venegas from which to draw material for his book. Venegas himself tells us that one of the benefits of his method is that the intabulations can be sung as well as played, but as seen *Table 2* above, only 12 works in his book

[183] On the use of harmonic formulae and chordal improvisation as taught by other contemporary sources see: Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, "Playing in Consonances: A Spanish Renaissance Technique of Chordal Improvisation," *Early Music*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (August, 1995), 461-471. Also, Luca Bruno, "Improvisational Practice and Harmonic Composition in Mid Sixteenth-Century Italy and Spain," in Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas eds., *Iberian Early Music Studies 1: New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2015), 380-404.

include text. From the works in the *Libro* that may be categorized as liturgical, what emerges is a picture of a society in which devotions of the Passion of Christ were prominent, but even more so those that had to do with the Virgin Mary.

The *Libro* also seems to have been an important source for the dissemination of the vocal works of Thomas Crequillon, especially his *chansons*. Given that Venegas was in the service of the Archbishop of Toledo, who was also the Grand Inquisitor of Spain and who had strong connections with the life of the court, it is no surprise that Venegas would include a significant number of works by the unofficial court composer to Charles V.

The musical activities of the Charles's court seem to have been of great importance to the creation and compilation of the book, especially for the promotion of a style of keyboard playing popular at court as represented by the works of Antonio de Cabezón, who was chamber organist to the Emperor. Cabezón is the keyboardist who has the most attributions in the *Libro*, and because he was blind it is possible that without the intervention of Venegas recording of his works, we would know very little about his earlier playing style. That Cabezón was blind may reveal one of Venegas's collection methods, as it was likely that Venegas (or some other person familiar with the cipher) had to transcribe the works into cipher directly from Cabezón's playing as Cabezón could

not do this himself.[184] Additionally, the *Libro* is an important source of the performance practices of keyboard players (besides Cabezón) in the Iberian peninsula during the 16th century, as can be seen in the attributions made to Francisco Fernandez Palero (organist at the Royal Chapel in Granada), Pedro Alberch Vila (organist at the Barcelona Catheral), and Francisco de Soto (clavichordist for the Empress Isabella of Portugal, Consort to Charles V), most of whom are mentioned by Juan Bermudo as the most important keyboardists of his generation (see Chapter 1).[185] In this way, the *Libro* helps to establish a difference between composer and performer, and further, between performer and amateur. Lastly, while the book touts its flexibility in being applicable to the three instruments referenced in its title—keyboard, vihuela, and harp—the nature of the repertoire in it and the ease with which the ciphering method is applied to the layout of the keyboard points toward a clear preference for that instrument, and leads me to conclude that it was keyboard instruments (and clavichords in

[184] Note as discussed in Chapter 1 that Venegas's cipher was the method used to intabulate and publish the complete works of Cabezón in 1576. In this case the edition, and likely the bulk of the intabulations, were done by Hernando Cabezón, his son.

[185] Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos,* Book IV, *folio* lx *v.*: "*Excellentes tañedores llamo a don Iuan racionero en la yglesia de malaga, al racionero Villada en la yglesia de Sevilla, a Mosen vila en Barcelona, a Soto y Antonio de cabeçon tañedores de su magestad.*"

particular) that Venegas had in mind as the primary medium of musico-cultural replication.

Chapter Four
Mediating Sound: Music, Identity, and the creation of the Spanish Subject

In Ancient times—a story goes—in a square of Rome, called *Campus Martius* (Field of Mars), the earth split apart; from this opening, which grew daily, came forth flames which threatened to engulf the whole city. The frightened citizens consulted the Oracle, and the Oracle advised them to throw into the burning pit whatever they considered to be the best thing under the heavens; the inhabitants determined that the best thing in the Empire was man himself, and among men, the man-at-arms—the knight—was the highest form of citizen. They looked to a Roman soldier named Curcius to be sacrificed to the flames, and he eagerly volunteered his life to save his Republic. Once thrown into the chasm, it closed, confirming to all who witnessed this that the knight was indeed the best thing that the Empire had to offer.[186]

This story is recounted in the prologue of Luis Milán's book *The Courtier* [El Cortesano] printed in Valencia in 1561. After retelling this story, Milán agrees that indeed it is the knight who is the best asset of a republic, but he qualifies this observation, because for Milán the knight is even more perfect if he is also a

[186] Milán, *El Cortesano*, BNE R/1519, *fol.* 2v.

courtier: "thus it is determined that the virtuous armed man is the greatest creature on Earth, and to be even more perfect he ought to be a courtier, which is to know how to speak well and when to keep silence."[187] Notice that the courtier is presented in this passage in terms of discipline. Milán then goes on to describe the ideal courtier by linking different parts of a knight's armor with moral traits that match the ideology of the state. This gentleman [caballero] shall:

> […] wield the **helm** of consideration [*consideración*] in words and deeds; a **gorget** [*goleta*] of temperance [*temperancia*]; a **breastplate** [*peto*] of enthusiasm [*animoso*] to combat to any adversary and to the defense of the needy; a **fauld** [*volante*] of diligence [*diligencia*]; a **backplate** [espaldar] of suffering [*sufrimiento*] so that he may carry on his back the duties of a knight; executive **vambraces** [*brazales*] to carry out deeds toward good and against evil; **rerebraces** [*guardabrazos*] to defend the arms of his Republic's government (military, ecclesiastical, royal); **gauntlets** [*manoplas*] so that his hands may be open to giving life to those who deserve it; and **cuisses** [*arnés*] to protect his well-intentioned steps so that those steps may show the correct way to others.[188]

[187] Milán, *El Cortesano,* fol. 3*r*: […]por donde se determina que el caballero armado virtuoso es la mejor criatura de la tierra, y para tener perfecta mejoria debe ser cortesano, que es en toda cosa saber bien hablar y callar donde es menester."

[188] Ibid.

This excerpt highlights the metaphorical projection of the nation-state's ideals onto the armor of a knight through an act of imagined embodiment. The fact that this description is found in a publication by a courtier is all the more significant because the literary work itself has been theorized by Juan Carlos Rodríguez as a public display of achievement akin to a chivalric deed:

> "The literary work thus becomes the desired articulation between the private and the public: it is the public display of the private valor of the individual who aspires to enter the court or gain access to the state apparatus in general. For this reason the literary work is a "deed" similar to that of the warrior."[189]

Thus, the act of literary production may be cast as a deed done by authors on behalf of the State. But not everyone at court could be an author; what they could be, however, were participants in the fruits of literary production through reading, learning, and circulating texts.

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[189] Juan C. Rodríguez, *Theory and History of Ideological Production: The First Bourgeois Literatures [the 16th Century]* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 38.

Self-fashioning, Printed Books, and the Reproduction of Subjects

Ideas of empire and universal monarchy were paramount for Charles V, and crafting the figure of the ideal Christian ruler and crusader were key in his political promotion. As the head of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Charles was also meant to be the example of the ideal knight, as one of the order's main goals was to recapture the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel.[190] For this purpose, Charles embarked on a program to fashion and present himself as the warrior knight, a program that—as Mary Ferrer has shown—heavily relied on the visual arts, music, and ceremony.[191] In his seminal work, Greenblatt argues that self-fashioning is the process of constructing one's identity and public persona to fit within a set of socially acceptable (and sometimes required) standards.[192] These standards include how to dress, the language in which you communicate, the pastimes in which you engage, your interaction with your peers and superiors, and other culturally important behavior. In the early modern context of this project, these acceptable standards were set by those in positions of power: the crown,

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[190] William F. Prizer, "Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece," In *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman.* Barbara Helen Haggh ed. (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 163.

[191] Mary Tiffany Ferrer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V* (Woodbridge : Boydell, 2012), 221.

[192] Greenblatt, *Self Fashioning,* 9

nobility, church officials, and the like. This same power allows a monarch to shape their subjects; the crown can enact and enforce laws that restrict any and all aspects of their subjects' behavior: fashion (sumptuary laws), language, access to information (through propaganda and censorship), religion, and diet, among others. What is clear is that monarchs (or similar figures in power) ultimately have control over the shaping of those who fall under their authority, be it willing or unwillingly. For this reason Greenblatt posits that self-fashioning was usually deployed in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile.[193]

The unification of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under Ferdinand and Isabella precipitated long-held hopes of re-conquest that had been part of the political fabric of the Iberian Peninsula for centuries; these militant sentiments were now squarely focused on defeating the Emirate of Granada, the last bastion of Al-Andalus, the Nasrid Kingdom in the south of the peninsula since the fifth century. With the conquest of Granada in 1492, the long-held hope of a peninsular Christian hegemony was finally well within the reach of the Spanish elite. With this drive toward nation-building through religious control, the Spanish monarchs and their coterie began setting forth laws that would work to maintain this hegemony, slowly stamping out political, cultural, and religious difference; the

[193] Ibid.

cultural *Other* had to be identified and eliminated. In Spain this *Other* was both the Muslim and the Jewish communities.[194] The sentiments that drove the *Reconquest* were framed in terms of identity and, perhaps more specifically in terms of difference: different language, different dress, different foods, different music, and—most importantly—different religion.[195] Such differences were theorized by Stephen Greenblatt as the "threatening other" who, conceived variously as a "heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist, must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed."[196] The Jewish and Muslim communities in Spain provided the most obvious target for persecution by the institution of the Inquisition, which cemented the idea that difference was dangerous and that having the correct identity, or fashioning it for oneself, was essential to avoid suspicion.[197] Spain, in the eyes of the crown and church, had to be taken back from the *Other*. This idea was the driving force behind creating a

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[194] James Amelang concisely describes the decline of coexistence among Catholics, Jews, and Muslims of Spain in: James Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 1-9.

[195] In a sermon from 1532, for example, a cleric by the name of Bernardo Pérez Chinhón compared Moorish inhabitants of Spain to the Turks and attacked them in terms of difference: "people without faith, without law, proud, barbarous lustful bestial, thieves, murderers, cruel, poorly dressed, lacking in the propriety and the good order of honet living, and without fear of God." Cited in: Amelang, *Parallel Histories*, 27.

[196] Greenblatt, *Self Fashioning,* 9.

[197] Amelang, *Parallel Histories,* 34-40.

Spanish identity. It was not enough to reconquer lands and territories from the Muslim other: the real work was in reconquering and upholding ideologies that promoted the agenda of the newly unified Crown in the face of its expansion to the New World and the renewed threat of fragmentation that such expansion brought with it. Initially, this process of conquest and re-conquest was achieved through armed conflict and political diplomacy—soldiers, knights, politicians and ambassadors—but soon after geopolitical conflict followed an equally crucial battle: the war against errant ideologies.

Throughout their history, books have been both celebrated and vilified for the information they store and transmit; as physical objects they have also served as symbols of power and prestige for their owners, and rulers have used them to memorialize their reigns through chronicles, to store and disseminate important laws and traditions, and to promote their figure through patronage. Books have also served as repositories for cultural information that binds (or divides) communities. In the 16th century, writing books in—or translating them into—vernacular languages increased their readership by allowing access to those for whom reading Latin or Greek was not an option. The development of the printing press furthered access to information and entertainment by making books

mechanically reproducible, which reduced their reproduction time and cost and allowed authors to market their writing.

In 1540 Alejo (Alexio) Venegas de Busto published his *Primera parte de las diferencias de libros que ay en el universo*[198] [Part the First about the Differences among the Books that exist in the Universe]; the aim behind this grandiose title was to catalogue and describe the important books in a "universe" that was tightly controlled by the censors of the Spanish Inquisition. The prologue of the book offers a rare window into how the physical book itself was conceptualized, and the explicit role given to books in the shaping of education, persons, their qualities, and therefore their subjectivities. The first chapter of the text begins with a discussion of what a book is in and of itself:

> Taking this word 'book' in the most general sense, and for all the things that it could signify, a book is a storage chest in which are deposited—as statements, figures, or anything—those things that pertain to information and clarity of understanding. This definition is so general that there is hardly any type of writing that is not housed within it.[199]

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[198] Alejo Venegas, *Primera parte de las diferencias de libros*, BNE. U/11268.

[199] Venegas, *Primera parte de las diferencias de libros*, fol. 5r: *Dezimos q tomãdo este nõbre libro en toda su significacion general, por todo aqllo q estendidamente puede significar. Libro es una arca de deposito en q por noticia essencial, o por cosas, o por figuras se depositan aquellas cosas, q pertenescen a la informatiõ y claridad del entendimiēto. Esta diffinicion es tã general que no se dara escriptura q no se encierre debaxo de ella.*

In its most general sense, Alejo Venegas stated, the book is a medium of storage (chest) for information codified in any type of writing. Codifying information and storing it in books became a more efficient way to produce and disseminate information when the process was mechanized through the introduction of the printing press to Spain in 1470 by German printer Johan Parix de Heidelberg.[200] From its arrival in Spain, the printing press both excited the public and terrified church authorities, seen by the church and state as something that had to be closely monitored.[201] The arrival of printing methods meant that information could be shared at a faster rate and to a wider public; this, in turn, set the conditions for books to become a tool of state power.[202] When printed books were

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[200] Costas, *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe,* 272.

[201] The dichotomy between the need to control book production, while at the same time using books to promote ideology is encapsulated in the work of Jaime Moll, who describes it thus: "The need that the church had for books for their rituals was fulfilled by the spread of printing. Missals and breviaies where the church's most necessary books. The bishoprics that did not have a printing office had two possibilities: ordering those books from a foreign printing office, which meant that they had to send a proof-reader abroad, or calling a printer to establish an office in the bishopric during the printing of the ordered books." See: "The Liturgical Publishing Project of Pedro de Castro, Bishop of Cuenca (1554-1561)" in Benito Rial Costas, ed., *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: a Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 303.

[202] The work of Robert Surtz, for example, addresses aspects of Isabel's book patronage and the way in which the books she patronized were in turn tools for the shaping of her public image. See: Robert Surtz, "The Reciprocal Construction of Isabelline Book Patronage," in Weissberger, Barbara F., ed. *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona,* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 55-70. Elizabeth Lehfeldt has shown how Isabel and Fernando used official chronicles to shape public perception of their shared sovereignty, but also to shape public perception of their war against Granada. See: Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "The Queen at War: Shared Representations of the Granada Campaign," in See: Robert Surtz, "The Reciprocal Construction of Isabelline

deployed as tools for shaping behavior, they became a powerful tool for both the individual and the state. The works of Antonio de Nebrija (discussed in both Chapters 1 and 2) offer some examples of the ways in which printed books were thought of as tools for shaping subjects as early as the late 15th century.

Nebrija published two works in the late 15th and early 16th century that are important for a discussion of both the promulgation of State ideologies in Spain and our understanding of identity: (1) the first grammar of a European vernacular language—the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* in 1492; and (2) the publication of the first complete polyglot Bible—*La Biblia políglota complutense* in 1517. Both of these works were printed in the workshop of the Brócar family, the workshop that printed Venegas' *Libro de Cifra Nueva*. The capability of the Brócar press to print in a variety of specialized methods is evident in just these three examples; Brócar was not only able to print books in multiple languages and scripts (as is the case for the polyglot bible, which has five different languages), but also in a variety of musical symbols (like ciphers and mensural notation). I cite Nebrija in the context of identity and subject formation precisely because he himself makes

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Book Patronage," in Weissberger, Barbara F., ed. *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona,* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 108-122. Ryan Prendergast's study of *Don Quixote* in the context of literary and book history provides one of the most in-depth discussions of the production, control, and censorship of literary texts in 16th and 17th century Spain. See: Ryan Prendergast, *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects in Inquisitorial Spain*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

the connection between the shaping of subjects and the shaping printed books.[203] This attitude is most evident in the prologue to his *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, where he states three main ways that his book will be of use to the crown and its subjects. Nebrija himself explains that because "language always accompanies empire" [*siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio* fol. 2*r*] it is important to have a methodological approach, an *arte* such as his own *Grammar,* with which to successfully impose the language of empire on potential subjects:

> "[…] after your Highness has placed under your yoke many barbaric peoples and nations of foreign tongues, and since with the conquest of such people there must follow an imposition of the laws of the victor (as the victor always does with the vanquished), my *arte* makes it possible for these new subjects to learn the language of our laws, in the same way we depend on Latin grammar to learn the Latin language"[204]

Nebrija's argument that his grammar, in the form of a printed book, is a tool of empire can be summarized in the following three points:

> (1) it will codify the Castilian language, in the same manner as was done with Greek and Latin, for posterity, therefore allowing the great deeds of the crown to be recorded unequivocally for history and, more importantly,

[203] On this point, see: Surtz, "The Reciprocal Construction of Isabelline Book Patronage ," 55.

[204] Nebrija, *Gramática*, BNE Inc/2142, Fol. 2*r*: "[…] después que vuestra Alteza metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros et naciones de peregrinas lenguas, et con el vencimiento aquellos ternían necessidad de recebir las leies quel vencedor pone al vencido, et con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces, por esta mi Arte, podrían venir en el conocimiento della, como agora nos otros deprendemos el arte de la gramática latina para deprender el latín."

be read by her subjects: "Because if we do not endeavor to do with our language what was done with Greek and Latin [i.e. codifying them in grammars] others would not learn it and therefore not know of your great deeds."

(2) to serve as a gateway to the study of Latin, since—as Nebrija himself states—their grammar is so similar that anyone who is a native Castilian speaker may adjust to Latin grammar rather easily: "Another benefit is to those of your subjects that want to learn Latin, since after they learn Spanish grammar, which is simple because it is the language they already know, they will find it much easier to apply to same rules to the study of Latin."

(3) as a tool for shaping subjects, especially newly subjugated peoples, for whom Castilian would be the new language: the language of the dominant state: "my *arte* makes it possible for these new subjects to learn the language of our laws, in the same way we depend on Latin grammar to learn the Latin language."[205]

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[205] Antonio Nebrija, *Gramática*, BNE Inc/2142 fols. 3*v* – 4*v*: "Por que si otro tanto en nuestra lengua no se haze como en aquéllas, en vano vuestros cronistas et estoriadores escriven et encomiendan a immortalidad la memoria de vuestros loables hechos, et nos otros tentamos de passar en castellano las cosas peregrinas et estrañas, pues que aqueste no puede ser sino negocio de pocos años. I será necessaria una de dos cosas: o que la memoria de vuestras hazañas perezca con la lengua; o que ande peregrinando por las naciones estrangeras, pues que no tiene propria casa en que pueda morar. En la ca̧nja de la cual io quise echar la primera piedra, et hazer en nuestra lengua lo que Zenodoto en la griega et Crates en la latina; los cuales aun que fueron vencidos de los que después dellos escrivieron, a lo menos fue aquella su gloria, et será nuestra, que fuemos los primeros inventores de obra tan necessaria. Lo cual hezimos en el tiempo más oportuno que nunca fue hasta aquí, por estar ia nuestra lengua tanto en la cumbre, que más se puede temer el decendimiento della que esperar la subida. I seguir se a otro no menor provecho que aqueste a los ombres de nuestra lengua que querrán estudiar la gramática del latín; por que después que sintieren bien el arte del castellano, lo cual no será mui dificile, por que es sobre la lengua que ia ellos sienten, cuando passaren al latín no avrá cosa tan escura que no se les haga mui ligera maior mente entreveniendo aquel *Arte de la Gramática* que me mandó hazer vuestra

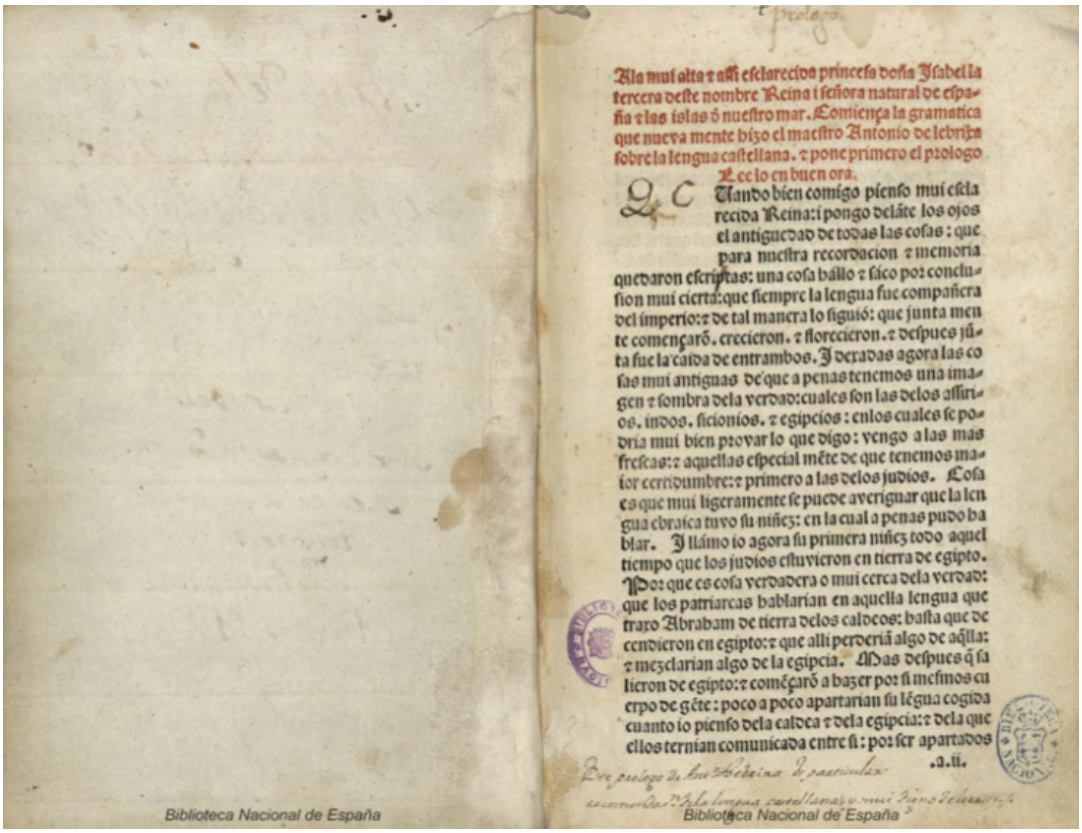

Figure 31. The first page of the Prologue of Antonio Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (Grammar of the Castilian Language); this incunabulum from 1492 still lacks the ornate initials and the heading which would have likely been added separately in the printing process (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

Alteza, contraponiendo línea por línea el romance al latín; por la cual forma de enseñar no sería maravilla saber la gramática latina, no digo io en pocos meses, más aún en pocos días, et mucho mejor que hasta aquí se deprendía en muchos años. El tercero provecho deste mi trabajo puede ser aquel que, cuando en Salamanca di la muestra de aquesta obra a vuestra real Majestad, et me preguntó que para qué podía aprovechar, el mui reverendo padre Obispo de Ávila me arrebató la respuesta; et, respondiendo por mí, dixo que después que vuestra Alteza metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros et naciones de peregrinas lenguas, et con el vencimiento aquellos ternían necessidad de recebir las leies quel vencedor pone al vencido, et con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces, por esta mi *Arte,* podrían venir en el conocimiento della, como agora nos otros deprendemos el arte de la gramática latina para deprender el latín."

In this excerpt Nebrija makes clear the connections between empire, language, and law, and he positions his *arte* at the center of this nation-building process.[206] This very language also points toward a conception and shaping of individuals; the key word used by Nebrija in the text of his prologue (above, also *Figure 31*) is *iugo*, or yoke, and I turn to Covarrubias's *Tesoro* for the meaning of this term. The *Tesoro* defines *iugo* as a type of pole used to join oxen so that they may labor together; but he also states that the meaning of yoke is often taken to mean servitude [*servidumbre*], subjection [*sujecion*], and obedience [*obdeiencia*].[207] Here then the act of subjugation becomes the act of creating new subjects, and one of the qualities these subjects need to possess is the ability to understand, and therefore be held to, the laws of the empire. There is little doubt that Nebrija is engaging in a degree of self-promotion, but I believe that this does not diminish the important role played by his publication in the process of

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[206] It is likely that the work of Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla, in particular his *De lingua latinae elegantia* (1471), served as a model for the text in Nebrija's prologue. In Book IV of that work Valla states "Ibi namque Romanum imperium est, ubicunque Romana lingua dominatur" [For indeed wherever the Roman Empire is, there the Roman language dominates]. See: Lorenzo Valla and Moreda S. López. *Laurentii Vallensis De Linguae Latinae Elegantia: Ad Ioanem Tortellium Aretinum, Per Me M. Nicolaum Ienson Venetiis Opus Feliciter Impressum Est, M. Ccc. Lxxi* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1999). For more on Valla and the connection between empire and language see: Alan Fisher, "The Project of Humanism and Valla's Imperial Metaphor," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1993, pp. 301.

[207] S.v. "*iugo,*" *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, *f.* 81 *v*: "es una cierta pertiga, acomodada para unir con ella los bueyes, y las mulas para la carreteria. […] Yugo se toma muchas vezes por la servidumbre, sujecion, y obediencia."

codifying and teaching the Castilian language around the newly-discovered continents and in generating new subjects for the Spanish crown.

In this context it becomes important to distinguish between "subject" in the philosophical sense—that is a being who has subjective experiences or relationships with other entities—and subject of the Crown: the individual or individuals beholden to a ruler or a ruling elite. In her work on song and medieval subject formation, Judith Peraino highlights the slippage between the many modern uses and meanings of "subject" and the medieval meaning of the word: "a person living under the dominion of a king, lord, or government" who "must pay allegiance, service, or tribute to the ruling power and submit to its laws in exchange for protection and in hope of generosity."[208] I take up Peraino's conception of the subject and place it within the Early Modern Spanish concept with the aim of highlighting the nature of the relationship between ruler and subject, and the way music plays a part in shaping and facilitating that process. In Castilian, two words are used to refer to "subjects:" *sugeto* and *súbdito*; as with other key terms in the present project, we can contextualize their historical meaning through Sebastián de Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*;

[208] Judith Peraino, *Giving voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume De Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 9.

according to the *Tesoro*, *súbdito* refers to those who are beholden to someone/something else.[209] *Sugeto* refers to those who are obedient or beholden to the empire or power, but it can also mean the quality of a person (so and so is a good person/subject) and can be used in the logical dyad of subject-predicate.[210] Thus, the English usage of subject indicated someone who is beholden to a higher power, whereas the Spanish *sugeto* has a stronger allusion to empire-building. One striking addition to this definition by Covarrubias is that the term subject may also be used to describe the quality of a person [*tomamos por la calidad de la persona*], therefore seeming to point to a process through which a person is assessed in comparison to a set of predetermined qualities that are judged to be good or bad. Thus I propose that if a subject can be judged in comparison to a set of predetermined qualities then those qualities can be acquired. The questions that arise from this proposition are: what are the qualities judged to be desirable for a subject, what are the materials or resources available to subjects for the

[209] S.v. "*svbdito" Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, *f.* 180 *r.:* "Lat., subditus, el que tiene alguna sugeción a otro."

[210] S.v. "*svgeto" Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, *ff.* 180 *r-v*: "Lat. subiectus, & alterius imperio parens. En otra significación sugeto, tomamos por la calidad de la persona, como fulano es buen sugeto, conviene saber, tiene disposición para aquello a que le aplicamos. Subjecto, y predicato, son términos Lógicos."

purpose of acquiring these desirable qualities, and what is music's role in the process?

The courtier's toolbox: printed books, music, and the Spanish subject

In Chapter 2, I discussed the vihuela book *El Maestro* (The Tutor) by Luis Milán and its contributions to the musical landscape of Spain; in particular I highlighted the book's autodidactic organization which, as Milán himself states, is meant to mimic the pedagogical approach of a music teacher. This pedagogical organization, and the self-determination/agency it allowed the book's user, aligns Milán's method with the Humanist trends imported from Italy that were spreading across intellectual circles in Spain.[211] Although *El Maestro* is Milán's most popular publication, it was neither his first nor his only publication. During his lifetime Milán published 3 books: *Libro de Motes para Damas y Caballeros: Intitulado el juego de mandar* (Book of Sayings for Ladies and Gentlemen, called the game of commands, 1535), *Libro de Musica de vihuela de mano, Intitulado El Maestro* (Book of Music for the Vihuela, called The Tutor, 1536), and *El Cortesano* (The Courtier, 1561). In what follow I will discuss these three printed

[211] For a detailed study of Humanism's spread in Spain, and examples of its impact on music see: Ottavio Di Camillo, *El Humanismo Castellano Del Siglo XV.* (Valencia: F. Torres, 1976). Also: Jack Sage, "A new look at humanism in 16th-century lute and vihuela books," *Early Music*, Volume XX, Issue 4, November 1992, 633–641.

volumes, and consider them together as examples of a particular program of subject-formation, a program that highlights the connections between the printed book, music and the formation of the 16th-century Spanish courtier-subject.

Milán's first publication, the *Libro de Motes*,[212] was printed in Valencia at the printing house of Francisco Díaz Romano on October 29, 1535.[213] The book is meant to be used as part of a courtly game, the rules of which Milán explains as follows:

> A gentleman, holding the closed book in his hands, will ask a lady to open it (at random): once open, they will find pictured a gentleman and a lady, each with a saying (*mote*) next to them. The saying next to the picture of the lady will be the command given to the gentleman, who shall be obedient and obliged to carry out what is asked of him: an appropriate reply for him will be printed on the facing page, next to the picture of the gentleman. The gentleman who is not obedient, shall be punished by the ladies in whatever way they see fit and expelled from the room. Next another lady and gentleman shall do exactly as the first, and so on, until the ladies command that the game be over.[214]

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[212] Luis Milán, *Libro de Motes para Damas y Caballeros: Intitulado el juego de mandar,* BNE. R/7271, 1535.

[213] Romano dominated the printing market in Valencia, and Milán's *El Maestro* added to his fame the distinction of printing the first book of Spanish tablature. That same year Romano also printed: *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos*, 1535, a diatribe against the Muslim faith and supporting the expulsion of Spain's Sephardic Jews.

[214] Milán, *Libro de Motes*, fols. 12*v*-13*r*.

The game, as is evident in the instructions above, is controlled by of the ladies of the court, who command and expect obedience in the tradition of Courtly Love.[215] The commands meant for the gentlemen to follow fall into several categories. The ladies order the gentlemen to: dance, confess their love in public for someone in the room, remain silent until told otherwise, serve the lady however she sees fit for a day, give orders to their pages, make a falconry decoy out of a handkerchief, and draw his beloved's image on the wall, and to verbally spar with their romantic rivals. These requests—and their appropriate replies—are simulacra of the witty banter expected in courtly circles, and the book provides an easy method to teach ladies and gentlemen of court how to mingle and meet. In this way the game can be used as a type of social "icebreaker," providing a space for random (but highly stylized) interaction between ladies and gentlemen at court. For example, 21 of the commands in the book require the gentleman to go searching around the room for a lady with a particular name, before he is able to perform his assigned task:

> "you shall find among these ladies a Leonor,
> and say that whoever serves her has great honor"

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[215] For more on the topic of courtly love in Spain see: Jole Scudieri Ruggieri, *Cavalleria e Cortesia Nella Vita e Nella Cultura Di Spagna,* (Modena: S.T.E.M. Mucchi, 1980). Also: Jesús Menéndez Peláez, *Nueva Visión Del Amor Cortés: El Amor Cortés a La Luz De La Tradición Cristiana,* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1980).

This sort of random interaction, would inevitably require the gentleman to mingle and ask ladies their name, therefore facilitating chance meetings among the attendees.[216] But some commands also create tense situations between male courtiers, among whom these *motes* became literary duels that mimicked chivalric ones; Ignacio López Alemany refers to this process as the "literaturization" of combat, and places the mote at its center.[217]

Other commands, such as those related to falconry and music, highlight the skills expected of a courtier. Several of the commands reference dancing and making music, and two in particular command the gentleman to serenade the lady using a vihuela (see *Figure 32*): "In the evening, I want you to sing to me with your vihuela, so that no one feels my pain, and all be merry."

[216] There are 21 specific names given in the game; it is likely that these were both some of the most popular names in court and the actual names of ladies in the court of Valencia where Milán was a courtier at the time. The names are: Gerónima, Mariana, Ursula, Raphaela, Aldonza, Ysabel, Juana, Leonor, Francisca, Margarita, Chatalina, Angela, Esperanza, Ines, Beatriz, Anna, Violante, Felipa, Elena, Hipólita, Estephania.

[217] For a detailed analysis of the literary *mote* in Milán's work, see: Ignacio López Alemany, *Ilusión Áulica e Imaginación Caballeresca En El Cortesano De Luis Milán* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 2013), 95-133.

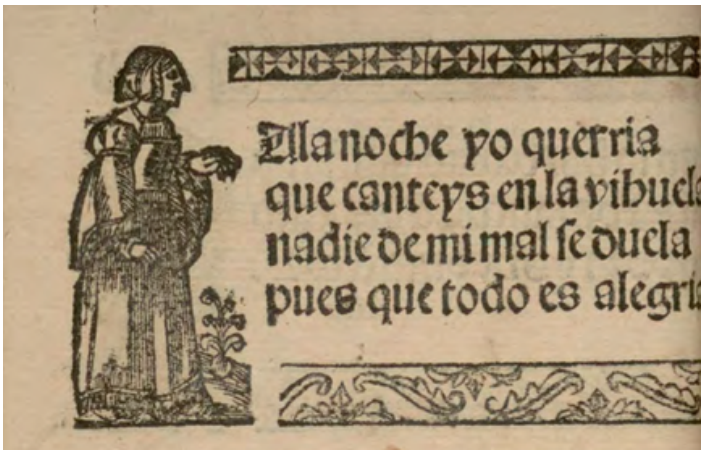


Figure 32. *Libro de motes* (Biblioteca Nacional de España) - Example of a command in which the lady asks the gentleman to sing and play the vihuela.

One of the generic "gentlemen" pictured in the game, of which there are 6 that repear throughout, is in fact a courtier playing the vihuela (see *Figure 33*); in a moment of printerly dissonance, this figure never corresponds with the sayings that refer to music or singing.

Figure 33. Depiction of a courtier playing vihuela in the *Libro de Motes.*

What is noteworthy here is that music—singing and vihuela playing in particular—are treated as expected skills, skills that are part of the social toolbox of the courtier. Here the gentleman is expected to be able to perform on a vihuela and improvise a couplet or some other task: the type of skill that had to be learned from a tutor, or better yet, through Milán's own method.

El Maestro—Luis Milán's second and, arguably, his most thoroughly studied publication— was printed on December 4, 1536 also by Francisco Diaz Romano. The book was intended for those who wish to play the vihuela and, follows the same pedagogical outline as a would private tutor. This educational peculiarity is explicitly advertised in the title page of the publication (*Figure 34*):

Book of Music
For Vihuela called *El Maestro* [The Teacher].
Which follows the same style and order
that a teacher would follow with beginning
students: showing them from the start,
in an orderly way, all of the rudiments
and all of the things they could overlook
to understand the present work.
Composed by don Luis Milán.
Dedicated to the highest,
most powerful, and
invincible prince
don Juan: by the
Grace of God
King of Portugal
and of the
Islands,
Etc.

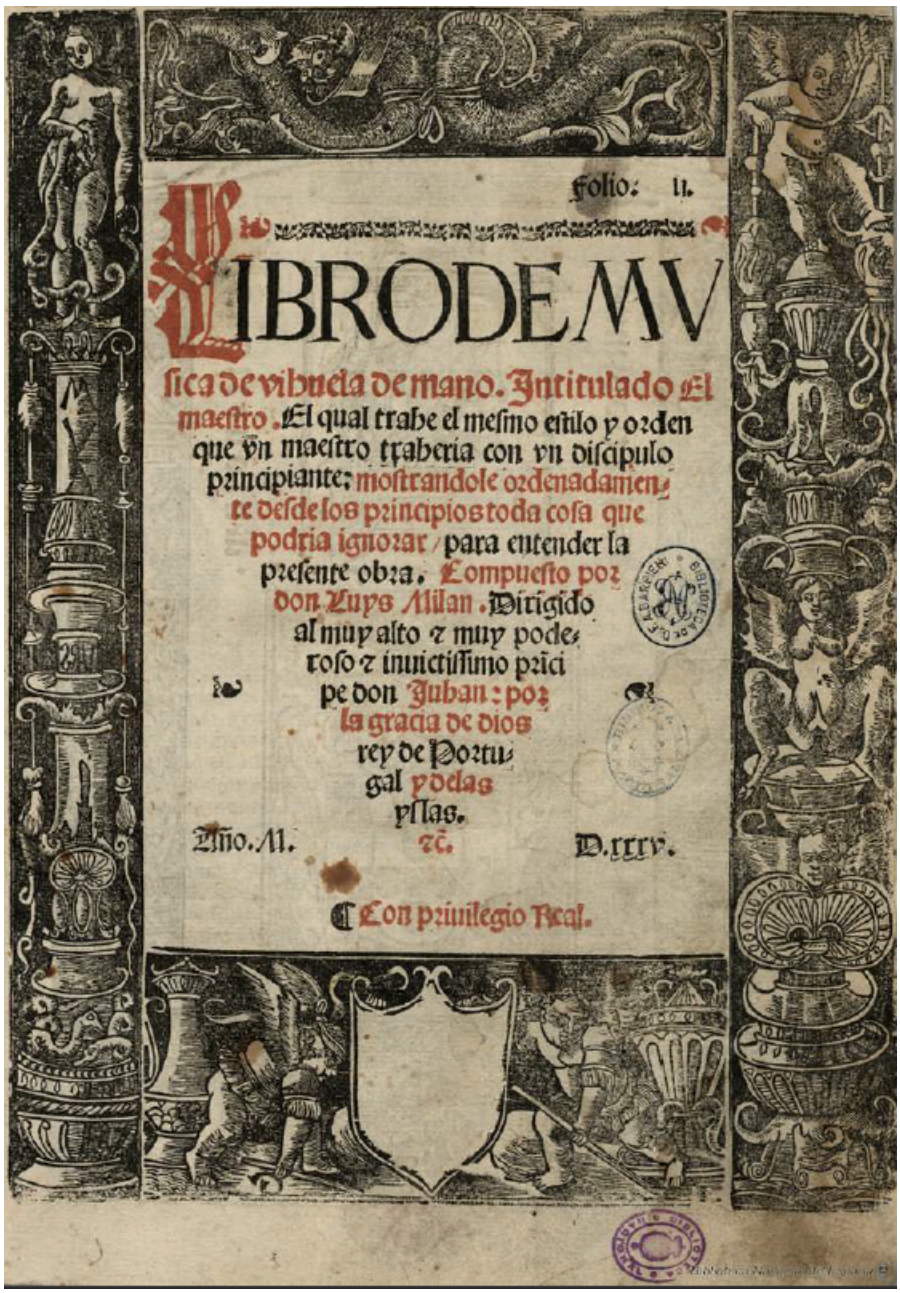
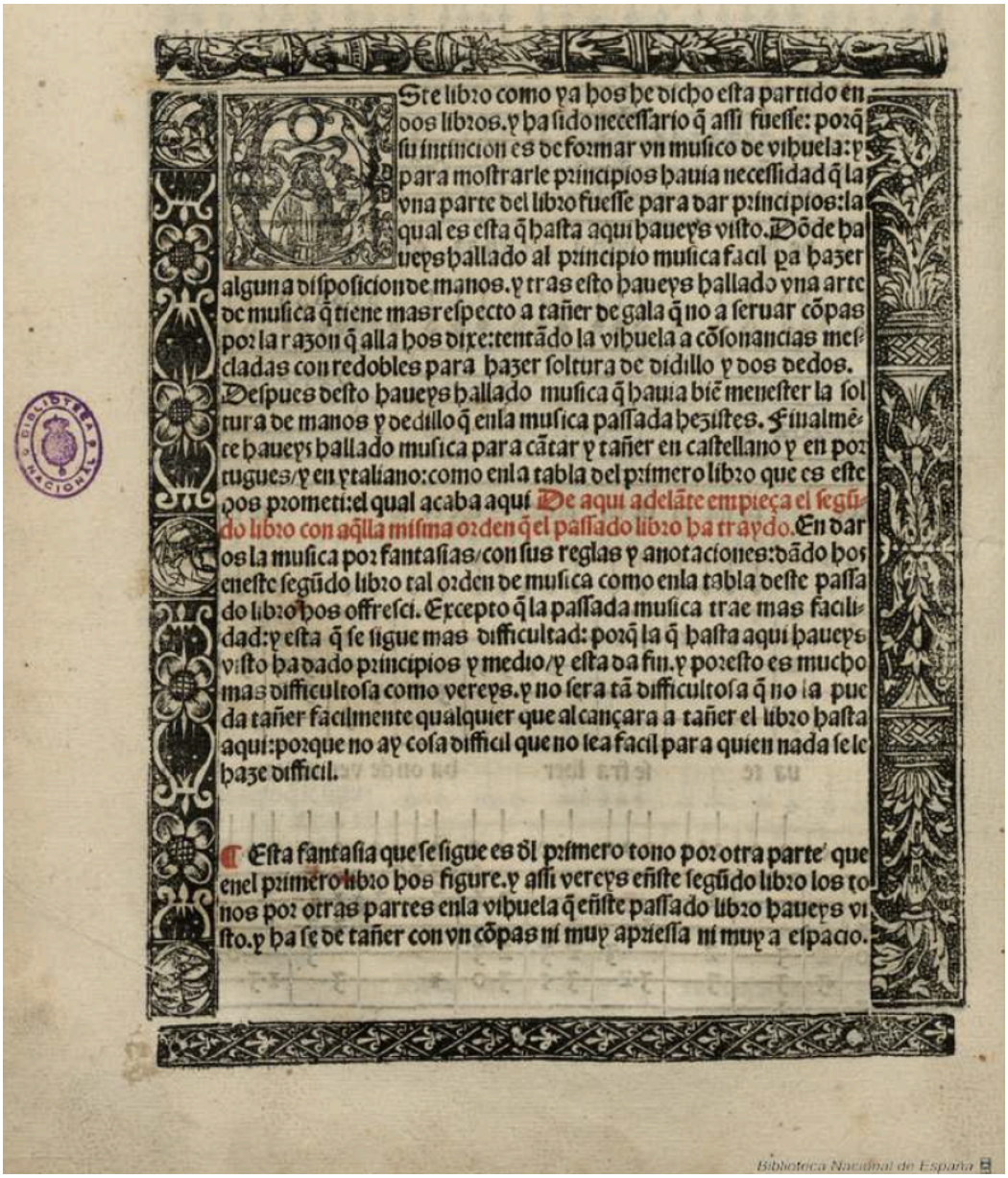


Figure 34. Title Page: Milan's Book of music for strummed vihuela (Biblioteca Nacional de España).

Milán's method is predicated on the idea that the user will already have some familiarity with reading mensural music, but he does not provide substantial material on that subject in his book, a pedagogical flaw that I pointed out in Chapter 2. This notwithstanding, his method carefully teaches the user how to hold and tune the vihuela and explains briefly the education aim and challenge for each of the pieces it contains. In order to appeal to a myriad of players, Milán divides his book into two sections, the first part being primarily for those who have never played vihuela before; he explains this in a page that divides these sections, reiterating the educational necessity of this arrangement, as seen in *Figure 35*, below:

> "This book, as I have already stated, is divided into two books. This has been necessary because its function is to shape a vihuela player, and the division was needed so that the first part could provide the necessary rudiments: which is the section that you have read thus far."



Este libro como ya os he dicho esta partido en dos libros. y ha sido necessario q̃ assi fuesse: porq̃ su intincion es de formar vn musico de vihuela: y para mostrarle principios hauia necessidad q̃ la vna parte del libro fuesse para dar principios: la qual es esta q̃ hasta aqui hauey̆s visto. Dõde hauey̆s hallado al principio musica facil pa hazer alguna disposicion de manos. y tras esto hauey̆s hallado vna arte de musica q̃ tiene mas respecto a tañer de gala q̃ no a seruar cõpas por la razon q̃ alla hos dixe: tentãdo la vihuela a cõsonancias mescladas con redobles para hazer soltura de didillo y dos dedos. Despues desto hauey̆s hallado musica q̃ hauia biẽ menester la soltura de manos y dedillo q̃ en la musica passada hezistes. Finalmẽte hauey̆s hallado musica para cãtar y tañer en castellano y en portugues/y en ytaliano: como en la tabla del primero libro que es este pos prometi: el qual acaba aqui De aqui adelãte empieça el segũdo libro con aq̃lla misma orden q̃ el passado libro ha traydo. En dar os la musica por fantasias/con sus reglas y anotaciones: dãdo hos en este segũdo libro tal orden de musica como en la tabla deste passado libro hos offresci. Excepto q̃ la passada musica trae mas facilidad: y esta q̃ se sigue mas difficultad: porq̃ la q̃ hasta aqui hauey̆s visto ha dado principios y medio/y esta da fin. y por esto es mucho mas difficultosa como vereys. y no sera tã difficultosa q̃ no la pueda tañer facilmente qualquier que alcançara a tañer el libro hasta aqui: porque no ay cosa difficil que no sea facil para quien nada se le haze difficil.

Esta fantasia que se sigue es ỗ primero tono por otra parte' que en el primero libro hos figure. y assi vereys en este segũdo libro los tonos por otras partes en la vihuela q̃ en este passado libro hauey̆s visto. y ha se de tañer con vn cõpas ni muy apriessa ni muy a espacio.

Figure 35. Page that explains the division between books I and II in Milán's *El Maestro*.

Milán's book was a repository of vihuela instrumental music in the style in which—supposedly—Milán himself performed; the genre of the *fantasia* is the most well represented in the collection (there are 40 of them), and this was the first time this genre appeared in print in Spain.[218] *El Maestro* also contains songs with vihuela accompaniment; in these songs (which have the texts included under the intabulation) the vocal melody was printed with red ink to distinguish it from the vihuela accompaniment, which can be seen in the figure below (see *Figure 36*).

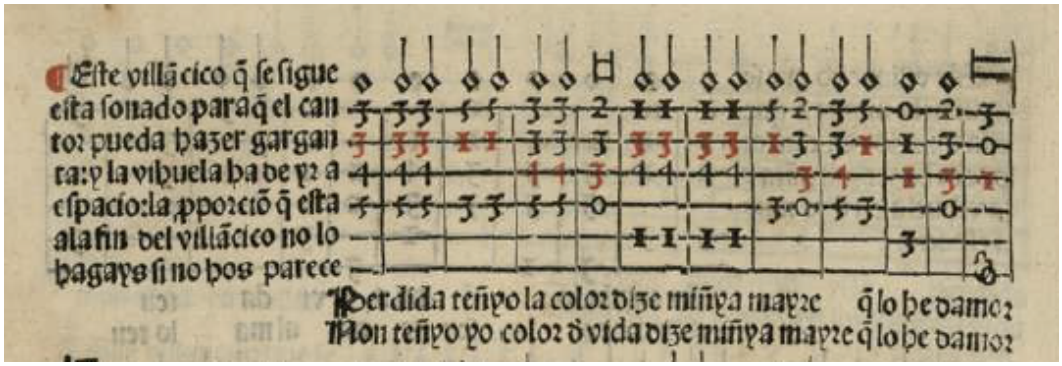


Figure 36. Example of the red notation indicating the vocal melody in *El Maestro's* collection of songs.

[218] John Griffiths, "Milán, Luys [Luis]," *Grove Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Milán's collection is the earliest surviving examples of songs with newly composed accompaniments that are not arrangements of pre-existing polyphonic music and are likely examples of the type of improvised accompaniment that was practiced by Milán himself at the Valencian court in the first half of the 16th century.[219]

Milán's third and last work—*El Cortesano*—was printed in Valencia about three decades later in 1561 and dedicated to Phillip II. In the prologue of the book, to which I will return in more detail below, Milán clearly articulates the most important virtues of a courtier: consideration, diligence, enthusiasm, suffering, bravery, and most importantly service to his Republic. These virtues, he states, are all found in the person to which he dedicates his work, the greatest courtly knight of all: the monarch, that is, Phillip II. Milán inserts himself into the world of the court by making himself a character in his own book, a character who exemplifies the ideal courtier. Milán tells the reader that he found himself talking to some ladies at the court of Valencia who had Castiglione's *Courtier* in their possession and who told Milán that he reminded them of Castiglione himself, which he answered in the form of a saying akin to those in his *Libro de Motes*:

[219] Ibid.

> Would that I were a count [Castiglione]
> And not don Luis Milán,
> Since he is in your hands [in the form of the book]
> Where I'd prefer to be.[220]

To this the ladies responded that Milán should do another of these books so that he could then see himself in the hands of those he helps so much, that is, the courtiers. This exchange hints at two 16th-century socio-cultural trends: (1) the shift of courtly importance from men-at-arms to educated courtier, and (2) the effort to localize Italian customs and accommodate them for use in Spain.

The reference to the count in the couplets above [conde] refers to Count Baldessare Castiglione. A brilliant diplomat and famous courtier, Castiglione was sent to Spain as Apostolic Nuncio by Pope Clement VII, who thought it necessary to have a trusted diplomat at the court of Charles V to "guard the interests not only of the Apostolic see, but also of Italy and the whole of Christendom."[221] The Pope feared that Charles V was becoming too politically powerful and wanted Castiglione to act as his informant in the court of Charles. For this purpose, Castiglione arrived in Spain in 1525; three years after his arrival he published *Il*

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[220] "Mas queria ser vos conde/ Que no don Luis Milán,/ Por estar en esas manos / Donde yo querria estar."

[221] Baldessarre Castiglione, and Walter Barberis, *Il Libro Del Cortegiano* (Torino: Einaudi, 1998), *lxxxvii*.

Cortegiano: a manual of courtly polity the text of which has been woven into the present work and used as a primary source of cultural information during the 16th century in Spain.

Published in 1528, *Il Cortegiano* (*Cortegiano* [Cas.])[222] had a great impact on the imagination of the 16th-century reading public. While it might seem strange to use an Italian text as the source of information for music-making in Spain, Castiglione's presence in Spain as Papal nuncio, the commercial success of his text, and subsequent translations of the same make it an important source of information on contemporary social aspirations and practices that transcend geographic limitations. Peter Burke's research has shown the commercial and literary success of this text, which had gone through 115 editions and was available in 5 languages by 1600.[223] Furthermore, in 1534, just six years after the initial publication of the *Cortegiano* [Cas.] in the Italian vernacular and within two decades of the printing of Venegas's *Libro*, Juan Boscán translated the text into Castilian and the work was printed by Pedro Monpezat in Barcelona

[222] To help with disambiguating, the three different versions of The Book of the Courtier will be referred to as follows: Castiglione's Italian original as *Cortegiano* [Cas.]; Juan Boscán's 1534 Castilian translation of the same as *Cortesano* [Bos.]; and Luis Milán's work inspired by Castiglione's as *Cortesano* [Mil.].

[223] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

(*Cortesano* [Bos.]); this Castilian version by Boscán (*Cortesano* [Bos.]) is likely the text said to have been in possession of the court ladies in the couplets by Milán quoted above.[224] Juan Boscán's Castillian version of the *Cortesano* [Bos.] was published just two years before Milán's *El Maestro*, and operate under a similar aim: to provide with the courtier with important socio-cultural tools. The quotes given below are from Boscán's Castilian translation of Castiglione's work. All the versions and adaptations of the *Courtier* are written as a series of conversations between courtiers during various court functions; the interactions between these ideal couriers codify the qualities that are expected of them. Therefore, these books serve as simulacra of courtly life and examples that courtiers can follow in their own daily interactions at court. According to Castiglione's text, verse, music, and witty conversations are among the essential qualities that made a courtier not only successful, but a gracious guest or host, and a discussion about the topic of music appears early on in the narrative. In the

[224] Javier Lorenzo's research on Boscán's translation examines the ways that translation functioned not only as a literal change from one language to another (Italian to Castilian in this case) but rather how Boscán endeavored to also translate cultural information so that it would be relevant in the Spanish social context. Like Castiglione had done in his original work and Milán would do later, Boscán chose to use his own persona as the example of the ideal courtier. Loerenzo calls this a "a flagrant act of auto-representation which permits [Boscán] to represent himself to the public as a member of the courtly elite." See: Javier Lorenzo, "Traducción y cortesnía: la construcción de la identidad cortesana en los prólogos al libro de *El Cortesano* de Juan Boscán," *MLN*, vol. 120 no. 2, (2005): 249-261.

excerpt below—taken from Boscán's Castilian version (*Cortesano* [Bos.]) the character of Federico is asked what type of music he thinks is appropriate for the courtier to perform and, perhaps most importantly for the contemporary 16th-century audience, when and how it is appropriate to perform it. His response provides a sort of summary of the what and when of music-making at court:

> It seems to me—responded Federico—that dexterity in improvising counterpoint [*super librum*] is a good musical skill, but even more so is to be able to sing with the vihuela. […] Great results and gentle harmony can also be accomplished on keyboard instruments because they have very perfect consonances upon which one can easily make sounds that are very pleasant to the senses. […] It would be much better and more convenient if it [music-making] was done among women: because their presence and gaze tend to soften and make tender the hearts of those present and predisposes them thus to be more receptive to the grace of the music, in the same manner as their presence lifts the spirit of they who play music. This notwithstanding, it must be remembered (as I have already said) to avoid the common people and especially the lowborn. […] Each should judge their own age and realize how unbecoming and laughable a thing it would be to see a man of stature who is old, graying, toothless and full of wrinkles with a vihuela in hand, playing and singing among ladies, even if he were to do it reasonably well.[225]

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[225] Juan Boscán, *El Cortesano (1534)*, BNE. R. 868, fol. 33*v*, *Muy buena música respondio misser Federico me parece cantar diestramente por el libro: Mas aun pienso que es mejor cantar con una vihuela. […] Traen assi mucho grande y gentil armonia los instrumentos de tecla porque tienen las consonancias muy perfectas y facilmente se pueden hazer en ellos muchas cosas que a nuestros sentidos parecen dulçes. […]Sera mejor y converna mucho mas si fuere entre mujeres : Porque en esto la presencia y vista de ellas suele ablandar y enternecer los corazones de los que estan presentes y los hace mas aparejados a que en ellos mas hondamente penetre la suavidad de la musica y aun levantan el espiritu de quien la hace. Todavia sera en esto necesario (como ya e dicho) huir la multitud en especial de gente baxa. […] Juzagara su misma edad y hallara quan disconvenible cosa y quanta risa seria ver un hombre de alguna*

Three things stand out in this excerpt, which point to the role of instrumental music within courtly culture and the intersections of music with gender, class, and age. Federico mentions that singing *super librum* is a fine pursuit but given that this was a form of music-making that most common in churches and cathedrals, the realm of professional singers, it was perhaps less useful to the courtier. The second is that Federico mentions two specific instruments that he considers are the best for the courtier to use: the vihuela and the keyboard. The third has to do with the type of music-making taking place. Federico mentioned that singing from the book was not as necessary, or as aesthetically pleasant, as it was to be able to play a chordal instrument with which one can accompany oneself; this is significant in this context because singing from the book [*super librum*] has been shown to have been at the time a specialized skill of improvising counterpoint, definitely marking the skill as a professional pursuit, whereas playing keyboard and vihuela was considered suited to amateurs, especially if they were able to learn from a self-teaching manual like Milán's or Venegas's.[226]

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autoridad viejo, cano, y sin dientes lleno de rugas con una vihuela en las manos, tañendo y cantando entre damas aunque lo hiziece razonablemente […] All translations, my own.

[226] On this point, and for a detailed study of the practice of singing *super librum* see: Philippe Canguilhem, "Toward a stylistic history of *Cantare super Librum*," in: Guido, *Studies in Historical Improvisation: from Cantare Super Librum to Partimenti,* 55-71.

In Milán's version of the work (*Cortesano* [Mil.]), he casts himself as one of the characters in his own book, thus embodying the courtier in action. An example of this is a scene in which Milán is a guest at a noble house where he was engaged in conversation with fellow guests and courtiers. The host, Don Diego, asks Milán if he remembered a particular couplet and offered the use of his vihuela so that he may sing it—saying that he could not only offer a vihuela, but also an audience for Milán consisting of the ladies that his wife was hosting in an adjacent room:

> Then said don Diego: […] since it seems you are acquainted with the gloss that you made for a *romance* that says 'Durandarte, Durantarte,' if you are up for singing and playing it, I have a very good vihuela here and also ladies to hear you perform, as they are currently visiting with my wife Maria. To which Milán replied: *don* Diego, I'd be delighted to and, if you don't mind, I'd like to sing another *romance* after this one, which may cure you of the French affectation that you wear as if it were a hat.[227]

Here we see the author of *El Libro de Motes, El Maestro,* and *El Cortesano* [Mil.] engaged in the craft of being a courtier precisely in some of the ways in

[227] Milán, *El cortesano*, BNE R/1519, *fol.* 54*v.*: "Respondió don Diego Ladron […]: que bien parece que le sois amigo en la glosa que hicistes a su romance, que dice: 'Durantarte, Durandarte,' que si gana os toma de tañer y cantalle, aquí tengo una muy buena vhuela y damas que os escucharán, que están en visita con doña María mi mujer. / Respondió don Luis Milán: Señor don Diego, soy contento si n'os enojais que despues de este romance cante otro, y podrá ser que os sane del mal frances que mostrais tener en la afección francesa, que traeis como á gorra en la cabeza.

which his trilogy of works teaches the reader. Ever the gracious guest, Milán is himself portrayed in his own *Cortesano* [Mil.] as the example of courtly fashion: he can quote endless texts and recite couplets at will, couplets like the ones he prescribes in his *Libro de Motes*. These same couplets he then improvises into songs while accompanying himself on the vihuela, likely using a style very similar to the one codified in tablature in his *El Maestro*. At the same time, we see Milán taking a pass at don Diego in this passage for affecting a French air, an affectation that Milán thinks can be resoved if don Diego listens to more local music (i.e. *romances*).

Between 1536 and 1561 Luis de Milán published: (1) a game that acts as both a tool for socializing and a source of witty banter in the tradition of courtly love; (2) a self-teaching manual for what the most widely available and used instrument in 16th-century Spain: the vihuela;[228] and (3) the sourcebook for all things courtly and fashionable: *El Cortesano* [Mil.]. Taken as a collection, the three volumes by Milán are a courtier's toolbox for the 16th century, collectively codifying and reproducing the skills necessary to be socially successful at court.

[228] For estimates of vihuela production quantities in 16th-century Spain see: John Griffiths, *Hidalgo*, merchant, poet, priest: the vihuela in the urban soundscape, *Early Music*, Volume 37, Issue 3, August 2009, 355–366.

As we have seen, Boscan's *Cortesano* [Bos.], specifies two instruments suitable for courtly music-making by amateurs: the vihuela and the keyboard. The popularity of the vihuela can be seen in the publication of Milán's *El Maestro*—the first book of vihuela music printed in Spain—and the profusion of similar books that followed shortly thereafter (See *Table 1*). But the publication of self-teaching books like *El Maestro* and the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* are not the cause of an increased interest in music-making by amateurs, but a result of it, as Tess Knighton points out:

> The amateur market was already on the rise before the time of Milán's *El Maestro*, and its variety of repertoire would have been largely familiar to many players and listeners. The patronage of professional instrumentalists began to be complimented by the ability of the patron to read music and play an instrument, combining magnanimity and intellectual sophistication in accordance with the emergence of the notion of the 'Renaissance' man characterized by Baldassare Castiglione.[229]

In the case of keyboard instruments, a parallel rise in popularity is shown by the publication of three major collections and instruction books published in the 16th century in Iberia: Gonçalo de Baena's *Arte nouamente inuentada para aprender a tanger* (Lisbon, 1540), Venegas's *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (Alcalá de

[229] Tess Knighton, "Instruments, Instrumental Music and Instrumentalists: Traditions and Transitions," in Tess Knighton, ed., *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs* (Leiden: Brill, 2017. Print), 143.

Henares, 1557), and Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (Madrid, 1578).

In spite of differences in publication year, place and dedicatee, these three collections share the same goal of making the art music and keyboard playing accessible to a broader audience, one of non-professionals within—and outside—of court. This meant that anyone who possessed the economic means to own a keyboard instrument and could procure a copy of these collections could enjoy music-making in the privacy of their own household; further, because the music contained in these collections was originally meant for the chapels and houses of royalty and nobility, any household could become a micro version of the court, if briefly, engaging in a mimetic act that could [musically] ennoble any household and any person, and provide them with a particular kind of perceived identity. What I am suggesting is the possibility that ownership of keyboard instruments in general (organs, clavichords, harpsichords, etc.) by the court elite helped to promote the view of those instruments as symbols of prestige and nobility. In other words, these printed books of music books were a tool in the process of generating identities because they afforded their readers the opportunity of participating in a shared tradition as represented by the music and songs

contained within them. I have explained this was especially important in a climate where being different was dangerous.

This increase in publishing music for keyboard was due to an increase of interest in playing keyboard instruments, which can also be linked to a change in the courtly culture of the main court in Spain: the court of Charles V. The arrival of Charles (16 at the time) to Spain with his Flemish court in 1517—along with their customs and taste—precipitated shifts in fashion, literature, court protocol, and of course music.[230] Documentary evidence demonstrates that Charles came to Spain in an incredibly sumptuous manner in forty ships carrying a large retinue of sixty courtiers, one hundred guards on horseback, and three hundred officials of his Burgundian household;[231] further, we know that one of the ships was carrying his staff of musicians, including 39 singers, five instrumentalists, and seven trumpeters.[232] Among the members of Charles' household to make the trip to Spain with him was his sister Eleanor, who was celebrated by the chronicler of the time as possessing great musical talent in various instruments including the

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[230] For more on the musical household of Charles V see: Anglés, *La Música En La Corte De Carlos V*, 1-136.

[231] Ibid., 7.

[232] See: Ferrer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V*, 67. The pay lists can be found in: Edmond vander Straeten, *La Musique Aux Pays-Bas Avant Le XIX Siècle*, (Bruxelles: J. Sannes, 1888).

lute and the keyboard; Eleanor had received keyboard instruction from the Flemish keyboardist Henry Bredemers, who in addition to being her keyboard tutor was a member of the chapel of Philip de Handsome.[233] This influx of new courtiers, musicians, artists, political hopefuls and clerics shifted the political and social landscape that the Catholic Kings had labored to put in place and which was now being tenuously held together by an aging Cardinal Cisneros. Charles's election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 was the final steps in a project of Iberian consolidation that was started by Ferdinand and Isabella when they united Spain under their joint rule. Spain's political clout increased as a result of the agglomeration of Charles's inherited lands and the titular holdings of the Holy Roman Empire; Charles was able to amass incredible power, wealth, and prestige. These vast worldly holdings are reflected in Charles' official title:

> Charles, by the grace of God, Holy Roman Emperor, forever August, King of Germany, King of Italy, King of all Spains, of Castile, Aragon, León, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, Navarra, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Sevilla, Cordova, Murcia, Jaén, Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, King of Two Sicilies, of Sardinia, Corsica, King of Jerusalem, King of the Western and Eastern Indies, of the Islands and Mainland of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Luxembourg, Gelderland, Neopatria, Württemberg, Landgrave of Alsace, Prince of Swabia, Asturia and Catalonia, Count of Flanders, Habsburg, Tyrol, Gorizia, Barcelona, Artois, Burgundy Palatine, Hainaut, Holland, Seeland, Ferrette, Kyburg, Namur, Roussillon, Cerdagne, Drenthe,

[233] Martin Picker, "Bredemers [Bredeniers], Henry." *Grove Music Online.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

> Zutphen, Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Oristano and Gociano, Lord of Frisia, the Wendish March, Pordenone, Biscay, Molin, Salins, Tripoli and Mechelen.

The fact that Charles chose to make Spain his center of government had obvious political and social consequences, as Spain was quickly shifted from periphery to center: the gaze of Europe's power elite was now turned to Spain and its monarch. It is not difficult to posit how these changes could bring about a kind of social identity crisis as his subjects were forced to ponder what it meant to be "Spanish" in an increasingly broadening cultural sphere. But the change also highlighted a governing crisis: how does a monarch shape the behavior and ideology of his subjects?

In the context of the Spanish Empire in the 16th century, printed books were on the frontlines of ideological warfare. "The whole procedure of monitoring and prohibiting books was intended for the 'provecho de la republica' [the benefit of the republic]. By linking the welfare of the Spanish state and its people with the need to protect against the incursion of heresy via the book, the Inquisition not only solidified its position of power but was also able to justify all of its strategies of control."[234] The wish by the State to control the mechanisms of

[234] Prendergast, *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects in Inquisitorial Spain*, 22.

ideological formation was so great that a 1532 letter from the Council of the Inquisition (the head of which was the patron of Venegas) prohibited the importing of books newly-printed outside of Spain; further, in 1559 a royal edict prohibited anyone from studying outside of Spain without express approval.[235]

To summarize the information presented above: Venegas dedicated his *Libro* to Diego Tavera, who at the time of publication held the post of Bishop of Jaén; Diego Tavera was the nephew of Juan Pardo Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor of Spain until his death in 1545. Juan Pardo (de Tavera) was one of the most powerful political figures of his time, he was also the patron of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa: the compiler of the *Libro*. Further, in his capacity as Archbishop of Toledo, Juan Pardo would have been dean of the University of Alcalá, an institution central to the dissemination of Christian humanism in Spain. Venegas's *Libro* was printed in the workshop of Juan Brócar who was not only the official university printer, but also the Royal Printer. Thus, the *Libro* becomes an important example of the nexus of power, politics and the performance of a state-sanctioned ideology. In this context Music is at the service of the state because it shapes the practitioner through the act of performance; the act of

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[235] This edict is found in: Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) *AHN Inq. Lib. 321, fol.* .224v. On the connection between the inquisition and ideological control, see: Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Taurus, 2006).

playing on the keyboard is an act of embodied discipline negotiated through acquired techniques and state-sanctioned repertoires. In this framework, the act of making music—at home, court, or church—becomes a reproducible performance of ideology. The practice of music provides a skill that generates sonic communities and edifies the player by keeping minds and fingers busy and away from errant thoughts. As Venegas puts it in his *Prologue*:

> But my greatest hope is that the present volume here published may provide some with the means to play, or hear played, some psalms to uplift their spirit to The Lord, or for the enjoyment of others, who knowing not how to play, do not receive the benefit of music [i.e. to uplift]. This time will also allow me to make everything more polished and perfect. If it pleases God that the present volume be printed again, then I will have the opportunity to amend all its faults.

Venegas's agenda becomes clear in the last sentence of his prologue where he states:

> May this small endeavor be received by the Republic, for the glory of the Sacrament of the Altar, and Divine Worship.[236]

Venegas states that his service to the Republic is not as an errant man-at-arms in the traditional sense, his calling is more ideological; what made him a successful courtier, like the knight at the beginning of this chapter, was not great

[236] Venegas, *Libro de cifra*, fol. 3v.

feats of military or knightly prowess, but the conception and promotion of a particular ideology of performance that allows for the performance of the ideology of the Republic [*República*] of which he is a disciplined citizen.

Conclusion

This Chapter places the *Libro* in the context of other Spanish publications that promoted the idea of self-teaching. I have shown that the ideal courtier was cast as a reflection of the Christian Knight, but that the ideal role of this warrior had slowly shifted away from actual armed combat and moved toward battling against the incursion of errant ideologies that threatened the unity of the Spanish Kingdom and the Catholic Church. In this light it is possible to cast all members of the courtly sphere as potential ideological warriors, so long as those courtiers were able to possess the necessary skills to be part of courtly circles. For this reason, I argued that one of the ways by which they could achieve this was thorough self-teaching books that taught them those necessary skills.

Printed books were the most efficient and controlled way of making this knowledge available on a greater scale, especially when these books were published in the vernacular, which made them available to larger portions of the public that were able to read but did not know Latin. But, as I showed with the work of

Antonio Nebrija, the vernacular was not only a way to establish a wider readership, but a way to reinforce the reach of empire: linking empire and language makes vernacular literature a powerful tool for the control of the state's subjects and sets the foundation for national unity.

By using the musician and courtier Luis Milán as a case study, I have demonstrated the way that self-teaching books share the aim of providing skills that not only allow would-be courtiers access to the courtly sphere, but guarantee success in their venture.

Printed books of music, thusly, function in a similar way by providing the reader a repertoire with which to relate to his or her peers; as shown in the examples from the various versions of *The Book of the Courtier*, being conversant in music—be it by singing, playing, or knowing the basics of its theoretical underpinnings—was an essential element of 16th century courtly society. Because printed books were required to undergo a rigorous vetting process by the censors of the inquisition (on behalf of church and state) before being allowed to go to print, it follows that the repertoire included in printed books of music was therefore music sanctioned by the authorities. By learning from these books, and performing the music within them, the readers participated in the performance of

state-sanctioned musical ideology, for which books such as the Venegas's *Libro* served as promoters and repositories.

General Conclusions

The present thesis combines several objectives. Firstly, it provides the first English translation of the full text of Venegas's *Libro*. Similarly, it is the first socio-cultural study of the *Libro* itself, concerned not only with the music in the book, but also with the network of meanings that are evinced by their compilation. Finally, this thesis lays the groundwork for similar theories to be deployed in the study of music in the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic, where we know there are several exemplars of Cabezon's book of keyboard works, highlighting the longevity of the ideas presented in the present work.

I show that Venegas's relationship with Cardinal Juan Tavera, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, had a significant impact not only on Venegas's compilation of the music in the *Libro*, but also on his ability to get his ideas into print. The *Libro* is thus an example of the effects had on musical practice by that combination of typographic innovation and state control, the end product of which is tasked with giving its reader the tools necessary for the performance of a legitimate and state approved musical ideology. By aligning musical practice via

his book with the ideologies of his patron and, by extension, those of the Crown, Venegas was able to successfully navigate, even thrive, in the complicated social climate of 16th-century Spain.

My research also highlights a connection between printed books and self-fashioning, and how this connection is evidenced in musical practice through the networks of meaning created by genres. Venegas organized his *Libro* by genre, and this generic organization had the aim of providing access to a wide range of musical types, but also as a pedagogical framework for those looking to learn to play various types of music on the keyboard. I showed how Venegas had a preference for Franco-Flemish composers and compositions, and that the *Libro* also seems to have been an important source for the dissemination of the vocal works of Thomas Crequillon, especially his *chansons*.

Finally, the musical and performance trends emphasized in my study show that the vihuela was at the height of fashion and played by all manner of individuals, but that its very popularity was increasingly making the instrument less seem exclusive, and that keyboard instruments were becoming the instrument preferred by the elite. This is evident in the increase in publications for keyboard instruments in the second half of the 16th-century. The *Libro* is therefore an

important and necessary source of the performance practices of keyboard players in the Iberian peninsula during the 16th century.

My aim is to continue the present study by exploring the implications of the theories presented here on the processes of music-making and subject-formation in the New World, especially in the Caribbean. Recent work on subjectivity and music in New Spain (México) has shown the ways in which race, musical practice, and identity operated in the highly-stratified social networks of the New World.[237] I believe that a study of musical dissemination in the Caribbean through printed books in 16th and 17th-century, will show yet another strategy used by the Spanish Crown to shape its subjects.

[237] For example: Ramos-Kittrell, Jesús A. *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

APPENDIX 1
Contents of the *Libro de cifra nueva*

Folio	Title	Author	Genre (per Venegas's Table of Contents)
xi	Primer Duo de Pange Lingua	Cabezón	Duo
xi	Otro duo Sacris Solemnes	Cabezón ?	Duo
xi	Primer Tres	Anon.	Trio
xi	Segundo Tres	Anon.	Trio
xii	Tercero Tres	Cabezón	Trio
xiii	Diez Favordones llanos	Anon.	Fabordón
xiii	Primer tiento del primer tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xv	Segundo tiento	Cabezón	Tiento
xvii	Este tercero tiene, y los quatro que se siguen están después de los favordones glosados	Cabezón	Tiento
xvii	Quarto tiento	Cabezón	Tiento
xviii	Quinto tiento	Cabezón	Tiento
xix	Sesto tiento	Cabezón	Tiento
xx	Septimo tiento	Cabezón	Tiento
xiiii	Favordón Glosado Primer Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xiiii	Favordón Glosado Segundo Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xiiii	Favordón Glosado Tercero Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Quarto Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Quinto Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Sesto Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Séptimo Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Octavo Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xv	Favordón Glosado Otro Octavo Tono	Anon.	Fabordón
xvi	Un tiento de vihuela	Anon.	Fabordón
xvii	Dic Nobis Maria	Anon.	Fabordón

xx	Primer tiento del primer tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xxi	Otro Primero	Cabezón	Tiento
xxii	Otro Primero tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xxii	Otro Primero tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xxiii	Otro tiento	Vila	Tiento
xxiii	Sesto tiento del primer tono	Vila	Tiento
xxiii	Septimo tiento del primer tono	Anon.	Tiento
xxv	Segundo tono	Anon.	Tiento
xxv	Tercero tono	Anon.	Tiento
xxvi	Quarto tono sobre **mahleur me bat**	Cabezón	Tiento
xxvi	Otro quarto tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xxvii	Otro quarto tono	Julius de Modena	Tiento
xxviii	Otro quarto tono	Julius de Modena	Tiento
xxviii	Un tiento del quinto tono	Anon.	Tiento
xxix	Un verso de Morales, del quinto tono glosado de Palero	Morales / Palero	Tiento
xxix	Un tiento del sesto tono	Soto	Tiento
xxx	Otro sesto tono, Soto	Soto	Tiento
xxxi	Otro sesto	Cabezón	Tiento
xxxi	Otro tiento del sesto tono	Cabezón	Tiento
xxxii	Septimo tono, Francisco Fernández Palero	Palero	Tiento
xxxii	Otro séptimo tono	Palero	Tiento
xxxiii	Octavo tono de Palero	Palero	Tiento
xxxiiii	Una fantasía del primer tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxiiii	Primera fantasía del segundo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxv	Otra fantasía del segundo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxv	Primera fantasía del tercero tono	Anon.	Fantasía

xxxvi	Segunda fantasia del tercero tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxvi	Primera fantasía del quarto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxvii	Segunda fantasia del quarto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxvii	Tercera fantasia del quarto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxvii	Primera fantasía del quinto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxviii	Segunda fantasia del quinto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxix	Tercera fantasia **de consonancia** del quinto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xxxix	Primera fantasía del sesto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xl	Segunda fantasia del sesto tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xl	Primera fantasía del séptimo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xli	Segunda fantasia del séptimo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xlii	Primera fantasía del octavo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xliii	Segunda fantasia del octavo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xliii	Tercera fantasia del octavo tono	Anon.	Fantasía
xliii	Favordones de Vihuela	Anon.	Fabordón
xliii	Primera Pangelingua, Antonio	Cabezón	Pangelingua
xliiii	Segunda Pangelingua, Antonio	Cabezón	Pangelingua
xlv	Tercera Pangelingua, Antonio	Cabezón	Pangelingua
xlv	Quarta de Vreda	Urrede	Pangelingua
xlvi	Tres diferencias de ave maristella en duo, Antonio	Cabezón	Diferencia / Duo
xlvi	Otra ave maristella a tres, Antonio	Cabezón	ave maristella/ Trio

xlvii	Otra a tres, Antonio	Cabezón	ave maristella/ Trio
xlvii	Otra ave maristella a quatro, Antonio	Cabezón	ave maristella/ 4 voices
xlviii	Otra a quatro, Antonio	Cabezón	ave maristella/ 4 voices
xlix	Otra ave maristella a quatro, Antonio. Que lleva el canto llano contrabajo	Cabezón	ave maristella/ 4 voices
xlix	Otra ave maristella, Palero	Palero	ave maristella
xlix	O gloriosa		(Marian)
l	O lux beata Treintas, Antonio	Cabezón	(Marian)
l	Veni redemptor qaesumus	Palero	(Marian)
lvi	Conditor alme	Gracia Baptista monja	(listed under 'ave masirstellas')
l	Sacris Solemnis. Morales	Morales	(listed under 'ave masirstellas')
lvi	Sacris Solemnis. Antonio	Cabezón	(listed under 'ave masirstellas')
lv	Quem terra pontus; Antonio	Cabezón	(listed under 'ave masirstellas')
li	Cum invocarem		Lent (Quaresma)
li	Non accedet ad te malum. Luys Alberto	Luys Alberto ?	Lent (Quaresma)
li	In pace in idipsum. Alberto	Luys Alberto ?	Lent (Quaresma)
lii	Te lucis ante terminus. Antonio	Cabezón	Lent (Quaresma)
lii	Nunc dimitis servuum tuum		Lent (Quaresma)
liii	Salve. Anotnio	Cabezón	Lent (Quaresma)
liii	O gloriosa domina		Lent (Quaresma)
liiii	Primer Kyrie de **Iusquin**, glosado de Palero	Josquin / Palero	Kyries
liiii	Kyrie tercero		Kyries

lv	Mira Nero de Tarpeya. Palero	Palero	Romance
lvi	Passeavase el rey moro. Palero	Palero	Romance
lvi	Un tres glosado. Luys Alberto	Luys Alberto ?	Romance
lvii	Una canción a doze para dos instrumentos. Crequillon	Crequillon	Romance/ Chanson
lix	Una fuga a quarenta, que se puede tañer con diez instrumentos, cada uno a quatro vozes: **esta reduzida a catorce voces en el el quinto libro**, quitado los unisonus para tres instrumentos		Romance /Fugue
lx	Una chançoneta, miralo como llora		Romance
lx	Aspice a cinco de Iaquet, glosado de Palero	Jacquet of Mantua	Motet
lxii	Si bona suscepimus, a cinco. Verdelot : glosado de Palero	Phillipe Verdelot	Motet
lxiiii	Quaeramus a quatro de Mouton , glosado de Palero con segunda parte	Jean Mouton	Motet
lxv	Cinco diferencias del conde Claros	Anon.	Diferencia
lxv	Otras tantas sobre las vacas		Diferencia
lv	Pues no me quereys hablar a duo		Diferencia
lxvi	Para quien crie yo cabellos		Diferencia
lxvii	**Rugier**, glosado de Antonio	Cabezón	Diferencia
lxvii	**Pavana** con su glosa. Antonio	Cabezón	Diferencia
lxvii	De la virgen que parió		Canción
lxviii	Primera parte de la canción de los pajaritos		Canción
lxviii	Otra canción llamada Alix		Canción
lxviii	Ie preis en grei		Canción
lxix	Vn gay burger		Canción
lxix	Ademi mort		Canción
lxx	Demandes vous		Canción
lxx	Io uous		Canción
lxxi	Iamais. Crequillon	Crequillon	Canción

lxxi	Frasqui mallard		Canción
lxxii	Mors ma prive. Palero	Palero	Canción
lxxii	Mundo que me puedes dar, a cinco, va octava abaxo del tiple, en fuga la voz por donde se ha de dezir la letra		Canción
lxxiii	Al rebuelo de una garza		Canción
l	Iesu Christo hombre y Dios		Canción
lxxiii	Sera muy provechoso tener muchas entradas de coro de muy buenos autores, y finales para que no parezca tan mal la no buena fantesía : en medio es buen aviso no tañer fantesia hasta saber muchas obras de coro, de adonde sale la buena fantesia están estas tres entradas		Canción
lvi	Dos finales. Antonio	Cabezón	Canción
	Te matrem dei laudamos sin reglas, para muestra que se puede poner esta cifra sin reglas: aún que como agora se usan las pautas, que son de hoja de lata, o de la que hacen los cabos de agujetas, a la manera del papel plegado para mascador, es muy fácil y sin pesadumbre el pautar : porque de una vez que se moja se pauta un pliego de papel.		Canción
lxxiii	Este te matrem Dey, y unas coplas … Parece bien dezir villancicos y coplas en organo : puesta una pesilla en el cinco regravis, discantando sobre este punto con buena voz a manera de atambor.		Canción

APPENDIX 2

Libro de Cifra Nueva 1557

English translation by Carlos Roberto Ramírez[238]

I. Dedication

[Fol. 1v] **To the most illustrious and very reverend sir, don Diego Tavera, Bishop of Iaen.**

Considering the plenteous and admirable music that God placed in the man that is the Cardinal Don Juan Tavera—Archbishop of Toledo, my master, uncle of your most reverend person—and the grace he showed in having admitted me into the company of so many Gentlemen sons of Lords, and of royal blood as he had in his chamber, and wishing to produce something though which I could make known my wish to honor his memory, I offer this small present to your Lordship, since that great man went to heaven so early to be with his own. I wish here, as a witness, to reveal all of the virtues that my master the Cardinal so harmoniously possessed and endeavored to keep hidden; not wishing to be accused of flattery, nor wanting my feeble intellect to corrupt those virtues, I shall let them remain in silence. What I earnestly ask of your Lordship, is your approval of this work for, although the devil has endeavored to impede it from reaching the light, I

[238] For the convenience of the reader, the illustrations and examples included in the present Appendix are placed within the translation text as they would appear in the original Spanish document; similarly, I endeavor to replicate Juan Brócar's original text layout.

know that God will be well served by it: for I do not doubt the shield of support that your Lordship always wields with which to promote all good intentions. May our Lord always guard your house and person. [*fol. 2r.*]

[fol. 2v.] **An epigram recommending the works of the brilliant gentleman Luis Henestrosa, by Diego Carillo priest of Alcalá de Henares:**

Oh how glad were your patrons, Henestrosa,
After you authored and gave them this music.
You, who have also cultivated so much favor from the blessed,
The muses, and the faithful: whom you love equally.
Presented [here] are master lessons,
With the help of which, anyone may become an expert.
But to please thricely, and so that these rudiments would be more complete for you,
Dear reader, you have melodies for Organ, Harp and Vihuela,
For you to read at your delight.
These works are but a prelude to us
Of the great many things that the author has to offer.

BY THE SAME [Diego Carrillo]

The muse softened the ire of King David
And plucked him from those rough places first spoken about by our foolish men,
where those without music dwell along with those devoid of charity and goodness.
The sweet melody of strings, is always pleasing to God,
For the glory of the Most High.

II. To the Reader

TO THE READER

Although this cipher [*cifra*[239]] is new and will be amiable (dear reader), I still fear that its great ease will give occasion for some great musicians to slander and demean it when they see that it provides a shortcut, because they have invested so much time and labored so much to achieve what they know. The ease of this method will be particularly distasteful to those who lack charity towards the advancement of others: which, besides being against the Law of God, goes against what they aspire to, which is the advancement of other musicians, since much will be learned in a shorter time with the aid of this cipher, for those who are more advanced in the knowledge of music, than for those who lag greatly behind. Some will tell me that it is not good that there be so many of this profession, because it will be respected less. To which I say that if this science of music had a beginning or an end which could not be surpassed, then they would have to worry that others might surpass him: but the most learned knows that it is impossible to reach a limit to what can be played, and thus the good musician

[239] Covarrubias: *escritura enygmatica, con caracteres peregrinos, ô los nuestros trocados los unos por otros, en valor, ô en lugar[...]* This definition by Covarrubias denotes a writing system that is not only reductive, but also secretive; it is meant as a code only understandable to those with the knowledge to de-cipher it.

should not fear that this cipher will diminish his reputation (if he wishes to study and always be ahead) or that an increase in musicians will diminish his respectability; on the contrary: s/he will be respected more since there will be many more that will understand such a person. Thus, musician Gentlemen, beginner, and intermediate and advanced, should understand that although they might be initially weary of intabulating [*poner*[240]] a *[fol. 3r.]* song on the keyboard with this cipher, they will nonetheless have an appetite to intabulate another. Given that in order to be learnèd one has to see many things, so it is in music; and since life is short, it is wise to look for ways through which one can learn and see much in a short time (which can be done with this cipher).[241] Although we have already said that this cipher will be of most use to those who are already well trained, the beginner should not dismay, because I certify that I know of some who in a few days have been able to play intermediate *fantasies*, almost improvising with this cipher.

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[240] In the 16th century there were two ways of transcribing polyphonic music to be played on keyboard or plucked string instruments (such as the Vihuela or the Lute): *poner* and *glosar*. *Poner* refers to a faithful note-for note reduction of the polyphony; *glosar* refers to a vocal work transcribed with the addition of variations (that is, *glosas*). Here I am translating *poner* as intabulate.

[241] In these remarks we can see clearly Venegas's pedagogical ambitions, which are humanist in nature; this is also Venegas the business man, as he promotes his own method as a tool necessary for being learned in music.

III. Prologue and Argument of the Book[242]

We know from the Authorities that the Liberal Arts are conducive to Virtue, and thus from the name *liberi liberorum* (which means sons/offspring[243]) we get the term liberal art, because these arts should be learned at a young age. Among the Liberal Arts—which are Music, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astrology—Music was held in the highest esteem by the Ancients.[244] And so, we gather from Josephus[245] in ancient times, and from Tostado,[246] and from Luis Vivas,[247] and from other writers that, once Adam had

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[242] The Prologue and Argument of the book here serve the dual purpose of being both a pseudo historical account of music as well as a contemporary account of the state of music. Using both of these, Venegas is able to place his treatise in the larger scope of musical industry.

[243] Here Venegas perhaps betrays his ignorance of Latin, as this definition is mistaken.

[244] Note that in his ordering of the Liberal Arts, Venegas places music first.

[245] Josephus was a first-century Jewish convert to Christianity; among his best-known works is a chronicle of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem. See: Josephus, Flavius, and William Whiston. *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987). See also, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Flavius Josephus: Eyewitness to Rome's First-Century Conquest of Judea* (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co, 1993).

[246] Tostado here refers to the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, 1400 – 1455, bishop of Avila. Alonso Tostado, as he was also known, wrote a Spanish commentary on Eusebius, which is likely the source available to Venegas. See: Clayton J. Drees, *The Late Medieval Age of Crisis and Renewal, 1300-1500: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), 465.

[247] This is one of two citations on the margins of the prologue. Here Venegas cites "Vivis / de ve-/ritate fidei./ lib.2." See: Edward V. George, "Author, adversary, and reader : a view of the De veritate fidei Christianae" in *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives*, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 315-358.

bemoaned his Sin, and the death of his son Abel, God consoled him by revealing to him the remedy for the harm done by him and his descendants: which would be to destroy the World once by water and once by fire. This revelation Adam told his third son, Seth, who was very learned in the liberal arts (as told us by Josephus), and who, thinking that it was a great shame that his favorite of these arts, Music, would be lost to his descendants (which are all of us, since Abel died a virgin, and the descendants of Cain died in the flood), called for two columns to be made: one of clay bricks, so that fire would not consume it, and one of marble, to withstand water; in each of these columns he wrote about the art of music, so that if one coulumn were to perish there would still be another. And so we are told by Eusebius and Josephus, that one of these columns is in Syria.[248] By these actions Seth reveals to us the importance of this Liberal Art, which frees some from vice and sloth, so pleasant is its practice, which reveals new and ever-increasing riches; although I cannot deny that it also harms many through their own fault since an effect is always contingent on the subject [person]: for if music finds one in mortal sin, it augments that sin, and if in a state of grace, more grace

[248] At this point in the text we find the second in-text citation in the *Libro*. Referring to Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book I, Ch. 4. Venegas cites "Anti. / lib.1./ ca.4."

shall come of it, for music is very conducive to prayer and to lift the spirit toward that composer who organized creation in concord [harmony] and music.[249]

Given that there is such a dearth of players [*tañedores*] with which one might serve in Solemn Office for the service of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist and divine worship, and out of the compunction not to bury these small musical talents which God has granted me, it seemed to me worthwhile to publish this method of singing and playing, compiling many works by diverse authors, for both keyed instruments and *vihuela*, of which I have chosen and intabulated so many works. To be able to fit them all, I have organized them in the following manner, which I will enumerate, to please those who are interested. There are three *diferencias* for the eve of several Feast Days: for the feast of Our Lord, for the feasts of the Virgin, his mother, and for the feasts of The Saints. In the book of *Matins* there are also three types of *diferencias* for Matins; and in the book of the three types of masses (as above) I have set *Introits, Graduals, Alleluias, Offertories, Preces,* for the feast of Our Savior and Our [*fol. 3v.*] Lady, and some Saints, some easy examples of three-voice counterpoint over a plainchant to be

[249] This sentence echoes the account of the creation of the World's Soul found in Plato's *Timaeus,* where harmony and musical ratios play an essential part in the creation of the Cosmos. See: Plato, and Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato.* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975).

sung or improvised[250] in the Mass. There are also *Motets* for every *Offertory* according to the feast.

As of now, the work is divided in seven books,[251] of two different types. The content of the first book (which is the currently published one) can be seen in its Table of Contents. The other six contain works that are excellent and carefully chosen, and although these volumes are already prepared, they will not be published until we see the success of the first here presented. The order of the following volumes contain the following: the second volume contains entries of *Verses, Hymns,* and *tientos*; the third contains hymns for *Matins*, *Ensaladas*,[252] *villancicos*, and *chançonetas;* the fourth contains *Masses*; the fifth contains works for 7, 8, 10, 12, and 14 voices by Criquillon [sic] and Phinot, and other excellent composers; the sixth volume contains songs [*canciones*] for 4, 5, and 6 voices; the

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[250] Improvising is a skill to which Venegas refers to very often; it is clear that it was a required skill for church and professional musicians, but the extent to which the musical *amateur* was successful at this is unclear. Teaching improvisation techniques might be one of the salient benefits of his highly formulaic discussion of *counterpoint*.

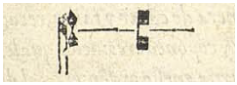
[251] It is unclear if the remaining volumes were ever printed. There are no known surviving manuscripts or prints. It is likely that the volumes were not printed due to lack of funding, and because the main printer of the project, Juan de Brócar, died in 1555.

[252] *Ensalada*, the name for salad, is defined by Covarrubias as a plate of mixed vegetables with salt (*sal*) and other delights like olives, herbs, and candied fruts; to his definition he adds the description of the musical genre called by the same name: *Y porque en la ensalada echan mucha yervas differentes, carnes saladas, pescados, azeytunas, conservas, confituras, yemas de huevos, flor de borraja, grageas, y de mucha diversidad de cosas se hace un plato, llamaron ensaladas un genero de canciones, que tenian diversos metros, y son como centones, recogidos de diversos autores. Estas componen los Maestros de Capilla, para celebrar las fiestas de la Navidad. [...]*

seventh has variations and discants. It is my understanding that the printing of this book might take one or two years, which will make it more perfect. But my greatest hope is that the present volume here published may provide some with the means to play, or hear played, some psalms to uplift their spirit to The Lord, or for the enjoyment of others, who knowing not how to play, do not receive this benefit of music [i.e. uplift]. This time will also allow me to make everything more polished and perfect. If it pleases God that the present volume be printed again, then I will have the opportunity to amend all its faults. May this small endeavor be received by the Republic, for the glory of the Sacrament of the Altar, and Divine Worship.

IV. Sufficient compendium for the practice of plain chant [canto llano[253]], without having to study the confusing complexities of the [Guidonian] hand.

The first thing that a beginner (especially in the choir) should know and be able to recite from memory [rezado] is *ut re mi fa sol la* and descending *la sol fa mi re ut*, which pitch is on a space and which on a line, and that from a line to a space is one pitch, and from a space to a line, another. Then s/he should understand that there are two clefs [*claves*[254]] in plainchant and that the one that is written with three dots is called *ffaut*, and the other one with two dots is *csolfaut*. Exemplo.



Upon opening the book, they should look at the line that bisects the clef, because all clefs are written on lines, and not to be confused by other lines that may cross the clef, but to be concerned with the line that crosses the clef through the center of the three or two dots that we have already mentioned. All the notes written on the line that crosses the clefs will be *fa*s, and through this *fa*

[253] Covarrubias: *Canto llano en musica es el punto quadrado, y la introducion para el canto de organo. Y asi dezimos llevar el canto llano, quando va muy sucinto, dando lugar a que otros discanten sobre lo que ha dicho.*

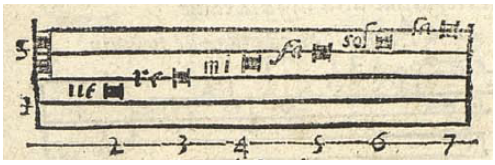
[254] Covarrubias: *Clave, en el canto la señal para conocer por qual de las deduciones se canta.*]

all other notes can be known; it is obvious that if we call that line of the clef *fa*, then the note written below is *mi*, and the one below that is *re*, and the one below that will be *ut*, and that the note above the said *fa* will be *sol,* and above that, *la*. Knowing this, one should intone the *ut re mi fa sol la*, understanding that as the notes rise and descend, so should the voice. Then the same should be done in 3rds, 4ths, and 5ths, etc., step by step, as well as by leaps, which means that only the two pitches of the desired interval species are played, skipping over the other pitches.

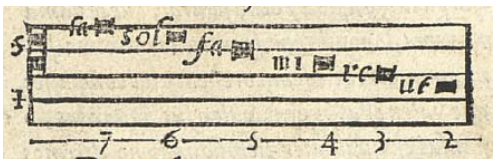
[*fol. 4r.*]

¶*Be advised that the ciphers that are used in this arte are explained in greater detail in another compendium. Fo.7.*

Example for ascending



For descending

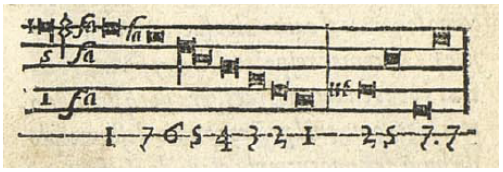


V. On mutations [modulations]

After having recited and sung for some days without mutations, it must be understood that the first *fa*—that which goes through the clef—is the basis for identifying all of the other *fa*s which serve as the pivots for mutations, for mutations are necessary when the melody goes below *ut* or beyond *la*: which requires moving from one [hexacord] to another, and due to this there are

other *fas* arranged in the following way: in the clef of *ffaut* the second *fa* is two spaces below the first; and the third is three lines above [the first]. In the clef of *csolfaut* it is the opposite: worth noting that it is three lines below [the first *fa*] is the second fa, and the third *fa* is two spaces above [the first *fa*]. And if the melody were to ascend or descend further than that, then the fourth *fa* in the clef of *ffaut* would be four spaces below, and in the clef of *csolfaut* the fourth *fa* will be another four spaces above, counting always from the first *fa* within both clefs (although plainchant hardly ever goes to these fourth *fas*, especially the one in *csolfaut*, but I am mentioning it because of polyphony); and note that one should take [call the note after *fa*] *re* for ascending and descending. So that the beginner does not go out of tune when studying on his/her own, advise them that [if mutating] they should say the names *fa-re* ascending but sing the same way they sing *fa-sol*; and that descending to sing *fa-mi* while saying the as *fa-la*. It ought to be highlighted that the third *fa* in the clef of *ffaut* is the same as the first of *csolfaut*; and the first of *ffaut* is also the second of *csolfaut*.

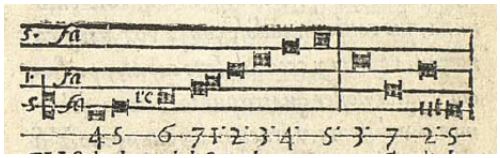
¶*Example of the mutations*



And if the pupil were to ask why we call a note below the clef *la* when it

was previously instructed that it was called *mi,* answer that it is because the melody [chant] goes below the second *fa* and that then we must thus take the notes in relation to that [other] *fa* to which the melody reaches.

¶*Example of the csolfaut clef*



And if the pupil is again skeptical of why we call the note above *csolfaut* *re* when they have been taught that the note above that clef is called *sol*, again point out that it is because of the third *fa*.

¶Exception to the said *fa*s

This matter of the *fas* only works when there are no B*b* [*bemol*] because where this *b* is, one shall say *fa* on all lines and spaces where the clef permits, and if it is before or in the middle then there will be no more than one *fa* on the note that is closest to the *b*, because it there were to be more *fas* then this *b* should be placed on every note, since it was not written at the beginning of the music. Also, when the when the melody ascends one note above *la* and then descends, you ought to play/sing a soft *fa* [*fa blando*] on it, because when it is *mi*, it may end up two notes below the clef of *csolfaut*, or two notes above the clef of *ffaut*. And

finally, I should say that when the melody marks the *fas* with or without the *b*, then this indication shall be carried over to the *fas* in other voices, as I have already mentioned in the points explained above, etc.

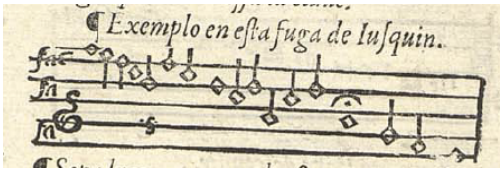
¶End of plainchant

I will not hesitate to say that I have witnessed some clerics learn to sing plainchant with this brief *arte*. I also offer this *art* to those priests that have tried to earn to sing with other methods and have failed; if they are successful then I hope they will pray for me. I am especially thinking of those clerics that are required by the sacred councils to sing the holy hours in their churches from the music. To the priest that wishes to sing the mass in tune and in their range, they should begin the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, as well as the *Preface* and *Pater Noster* [Lord's Prayer] four notes below the *dominus voviscum* ["The Lord be with you"], the prayers, and the Gospel. And if those who are theoretically-minded were to find fault in this *art*, they should not condemn it outright, considering the time that it saves, and the fact that it is primarily geared toward the practice of music. To learn to carry a tune, which is the most difficult thing, the reader should utilize the compendium at the end of this writing.

VI. On organal [polyphonic] singing

Having sung plainchant for some time, show him/her the two *fa*s of the *gsolreut* clef. The first is a space below the line that bisects the clef: which is the same as the third *fa* of the c*solfaut* clef. The second *fa* is two spaces above that, which is also the fourth *fa* of *csolfaut.* The third *fa* is four lines above the line that traverses the clef.

¶*Example in this fugue by Josquin*



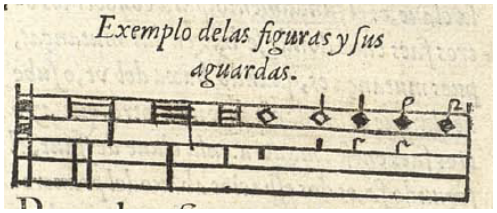
Notice then, that there are eight figures called: *maxima, longa, breve, semi-breve, minima, semi-minima, corchea, and semi-corchea.* The value of these notes also applies to their rests [*aguardas/pausa*[255]] in every time signature [*tiempo*], but we will not mention all of them here, except the *compasillo* [256] which is mostly in use now, where a *maxima*

[255] Venegas uses both terms in his treatise. Curiously, in the Covarrubias *Tesoro* the principal definition for *pausa* defines a strictly musical phenomenon linked to polyphony: *Lat. pausa, à Græco pausa, cessatio; y de alli se llamaron pausas ciertas señales en el canto de organo, las quales aduierten se han the callar todos los compases , que ellas valen.*

[256] From Venegas's own description we can deduce that *compasillo* here refers to what we would think of today as 4/2 time, to which he also refers as being the most commonly in use in the middle of the 16th century.

is eight beats, *longa* is four [whole note], *breve* is two [half-note], the *semi-breve* is one [quarter note], two *minims* are one beat [eighth-note], four *semi-minims* one [sixteenth-note], eight *corcheas* are one thirty-second notes], and sixteen *semi-corcheas* [sixty-fourth notes] are one beat.

¶*Example of the notes and their rests*



VII. On ligatures

Ligatures are identified by their stem [*vírgula*] in this way: If the stem is on the right, either up or down, then it is a *maxima* or *longa*. If the stem is on the left and upward, then the first two [notes] will be *breves* and the others that follow will be *semi-breves*; if the stem is on the left pointing downward, then they will be *breves*. There are also *longas* without downward stem, if there are two they will be *longas* with the ones between them being *breves*. There are also stretched ligatures [liquescents] that are called *alphas*, which are different [*fol. 5r.*] from the ligatures only in that they descend without a

stem: in which case the first will be a *longa* and the second a *breve*.

VIII. On proportions

Understanding that a beat in music is nothing more than the lifting of a hand or foot once at equal speed, we shall only mention here the proportion which is most commonly used: that of three *semi-breves* or *minims* per beat, which is indicated with this symbol .3./2

This symbol is used if the proportion were to come after having had two *minims* per beat, since if the whole work were in this proportion [i.e. in 3], then if would suffice to only write the .3.

Notice that if any figure [note] was preceded by one of the same value, or a rest, the said first note will be perfect, and thus, will be a full beat; if it is two smaller notes between two greater notes, the second of the smaller notes is altered if there is no dot, which would make them equal. We can also find this proportion if the note is colored [filled in].

One could very well begin to sing using organal singing [polyphony; *canto de órgano*], and save time with plainchant.

IX. On Measuring organal chant [polyphony]

After this, notice the up and down beats in a measure, counting in the following way: a *minim* and two *semi-minims* form a beat, and a *minim* and half a *semi-breve* make another, and the half that is left over will make a full beat; a *minim* with a dot and the *semi-minim* that follows make a beat; the dot mentioned has a value of half the note that it follows, which combined with its rest form another beat, etc. And as you go along counting the beats, name the notes and the rests so that in doing so you may remember all of the names. This basically summarizes a book on organal singing; now learn two or three *fabordones*, or *villancicos*, very well and on beat, and from doing so the rest can be deduced.

X. On counterpoint[257]

Knowledge of counterpoint allows you to know the consonances that are possible on an instrument; also one must know how to resolve dissonances. Further, counterpoint

[257] Venegas section concerning counterpoint is a great example of the distillation of Latin music theory into the vernacular. This section is based upon Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (Art of Counterpoint); in fact, the section on the rules of counterpoint are basically just Spanish translations of the subject headings of Tinctoris's Third book of Counterpoint. See: Tinctoris, Johannes, and Albert Seay. *The Art of Counterpoint =: Liber De Arte Contrapuncti*. S.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1961.

allows you judge whether an intabulated work has errors or not.

First, know that there are two perfect consonances which are the *unison* and the *fifth*; there are also two imperfect consonances, the *third* and the *sixth*; similarly there are three dissonances: the *second*, the *fourth*, and the *seventh*. [underlined by hand in the manuscript] From these, all species [i.e. intervals] are formed, because there are simple species up to the *seventh*, and from there on the species are compound. This is means that by subtracting seven from any compound species it is possible to know if it is a perfect or imperfect consonance, or if it is a dissonance. For example, a species of a *thirty-first* is the same as a compound *third*, which is calculated as follows: If you subtract 7 from 31 you will get 24, then subtract 7 from 24 and you get 17, then subtract 7 from 17 and you get 10, and if you subtract 7 from 10 you get 3; thus, a *thirty-first* is really a compound *third*. If you do the same calculation for a *thirtieth*, then this species would be false, because it would yield a compound *second* [which is a dissonance]; and a species of a *twenty-ninth* would be perfect since it is in essence an *octave*, which is in turn the same as a *unison*.

One should note that a species should not follow another of the same kind, like an *unison* after an *unison*, or a *fifth* after another; but a *fifth*

after an *octave* is permissible, and the same can be said about their corresponding compound species. To begin any counterpoint, or composition, the first consonance must be perfect, the same for the last one. Imperfect consonances do not follow this rule, as they can be played [*fol. 5v*] one after another, such as a *sixth* after another, or a *third*, even if there are many in a row. Dissonances are very important, since without them it is not possible to sing tastefully [*sabrosamente*], but they must be resolved quickly, and there should not be any dissonances in the up or down of the hand.

On Concerted counterpoint

Concerted counterpoint [*contrapunto concerta*[258]] is organized in the following manner: When the plainchant [*cantus firmus*] is in the bass, the concerted parts will be sung by the treble [*tiple*], tenor, and contra-alto; the treble will sing in *octaves*, *twelfths, fifteenths, and sixteenths*, and the tenor or contra-alto will sing *thirds, fifths, octaves, tenths,* and *twelfths*, and so will sound

[258] Covarrubias equates "to concert" (*concertado*) with "to compose" (*componer*): *lo mesmo que componer, ajustar, acordar. Lat. Componere. Concierto, acuerdo, composicion, avenencia, consonancia, Hombre concertado, medido, ajustado, que vive con order, y concierto. Desconcertado, lo contrario. Ir concertados,o de concierto, ir ya prevenidos, y comunicados de lo que han de hacer.* Here also he tells us that to play in concert is to play something which has been previously agreed upon, that is, not *ex tempore* improvisation.

concerted. If the treble sounds a *fifth* above the bass, then the contra-alto will sound a *third*; if the treble sounds an *octave* above the bass, then the contra-alto will sound a *fifth*; and if the treble sounds a *tenth* then the contra-alto will sound an *octave*; if the treble sounded a *twelfth*, then the contra-alto will sound a *tenth*, and so forth until each voice can cadence, but always be aware that the voices do not sound *fa* together with *mi* when it should be a perfect species, or that two perfect consonances are done in a row or move in parallel motion with the bass, and that they stay as close to each other as possible and not too far from the bass, and especially make sure that they move in contrary motion, and with diverse points of imitation in the style of *passos de caças* [*caccia*] and fugues [*fugas una tras otra*]. All that was stated above for the *semibreve*, *minima*, and *semi-minim*, along with the order given above on how to combine the voices, shall apply when coming to a cadence [*clausula*]. When the plainchant [*cantus firmus*] is sung by the higher voices, such as in the *acute dlasolre*, *ffaut*, *elami*, and in *super-acute gsolreut*, then the treble will sounds mostly *thirds, fifths* [above], and whatever other species is convenient; the tenor or contra-alto will sound *octaves* and *twelfths*, or whatever fits below. When the plainchant is in the tenor range, then

it will be concerted by the treble, contra-alto, and the bass; the treble and the contra-alto will sound the consonances of the *third, sixth,* and *octaves*, interspersed with some *fifths*; the bass will sound *octaves, fifths,* and *thirds* below. And if the tenor were to go below the bass [voice crossing], then the same intervals may be done above it, or something similar, so that the said species can accompany the *octave, sixth,* or *third*, or the *third* above with the *octave tenth* or the *thirteenth*, and so forth with the others. One should not that the young voice [*pueril*], that which is unchanged, sounds an octave above the written note, so that a note for this voice written a *third* below the plainchant will actually sound a *sixth* above it, similarly a note written a *fourth* below the plainchant will sounds a *fifth* above it, a *fifth* below will sound a *fourth* above, a *sixth* below a *third* above, an *octave* below will be an *unison*, a *tenth* below will actually sound a *third* below, a *twelfth* below will be a *fifth* below, and so on. On the contrary, a *third* written above the plainchant will sound a *tenth* above it, a *fourth* above an *eleventh*, and a *fifth* above will sound a *twelfth* above. The changed voice singing above a plainchant sung by the puerile voice, which appears to be an *unison* on the page, really sounds an *octave* below; so that if the changed voice sings a

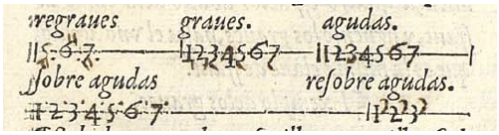
third below it will really sounds like a *tenth* below, a *fifth* below will sound a *twelfth* below, and similarly if the changed voice sings a *third* above it sounds a *sixth* below the puerile voice, a *fourth* above sounds a *fifth* below, a *fifth* above sounds a *fourth* below, a *sixth* above sounds a *third* below, and *octave* above will sounds in *unison*, a *tenth* above sounds a *third* above, an *eleventh* above a *fourth* above, a *twelfth* above sounds a *fifth* above, etc. No example of this are supplied to avoid confusion. If there are two equal voices concerting over a plainchant, such as two trebles, or two contra-altos, etc., they shall sing in the following way: they shall imitate one another at the unison, using various points of imitations in the style of a chase or fugue [*passos de caças y fugas*] at the *semi-breve*, *minim*, or *semi-minim*, and then come to a close as closely to each other as possible. All of which I have learned in practice.

[*fol. 6r.*]

XI. The Explanation of the Cipher

I would wish to mention just some of the perfections found in this cipher (since to my judgment there is no need for anyone to tire themselves or lose sleep trying to think of another); but to be brief, I will leave it at that. Having learned what the value of every note and its

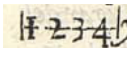
corresponding rest is (as I have stated already), the first thing to know is to be able to count until seven in Arabic numbers [*guarismo*[259]], because this cipher is organized into seven *gravis*[260] [low/bass] symbols, seven *acute*, and seven *super-acute*; and if the notes were to go below *gravis* 1 then below that would be *sub-gravis* 7, then 6 and 5 *sub-gravis*, which is the first [lowest] key of the monochord [i.e. clavichord] and the same applies to the vihuela and the harp; if the notes were to ascend higher than stated above [i.e. above acute 7], then they will be called *super-acute*. Example.

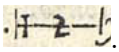
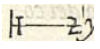
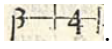
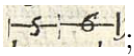
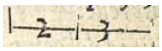
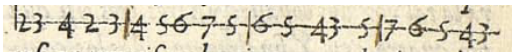
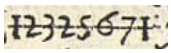


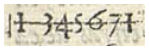
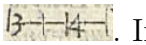
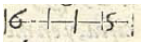
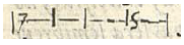
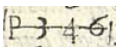
Note that the ranges of the ciphers are differentiated through the use of slashes and dots on the figures, thus the *sub-gravis* figures have a slash and a dot  ; the *gravis* figures have a slash  , the *acute* have nor a slash nor a dot  ,

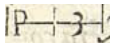
[259] Covarrubias: *la table de contar, segun cuentan los Arabes, y con ciertos caracteres, que oy usamos, se presume ser los que ellos nos introduxeron, diferentes de los Castellanos, quales los vemos en las inscripciones de piedras antiguas. Tienen los Arabigos entre las demás figuras el cero, que es o, omicron, vide verb. cero, donde consta no ser este termino Arabigo, ni tampoco la diccion guarismo, porque parece estar corrompido de Aristhmo, que vale cuenta arithmin, hoc est a numerandom añadieron despues la silaba gu, y dixeron guarismo corruptamente. Los que quieren sea Arabigo, dizen estar corrompido de algarismo, lengua de los Algarues, ô de los Agarenos.*

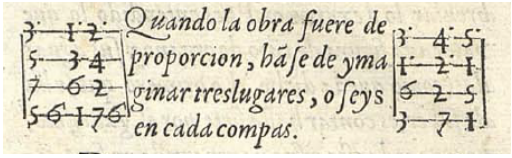
[260] Venegas designates the ranges by using the terms *regravis*, *gravis*, *agudo*, *super agudo*, and *resobreagudo* which I have translated as *sub-gravis*, *gravis*, *acute*, *super-acute*, and *re-super-acute*.

super-acutes have a dot  , and the *re-super-acute* have two dots  . The next thing to know is that the cipher is written on lines, and the number of lines corresponds to the number of voices in the work, so that if there are two lines then it is a work for two voices, and if three then three, and if four then four, and if five then five, etc.; the highest line is the treble, the second highest is the contra-alto, the third is the tenor, and the fourth or lower is the bass; [underlined by hand in the original]. If there is another treble then another line should be added below the other treble, or the same for the contra - alto, and so forth with the other voices. Then the measures should be marked through all the lines at once thus making a square or rectangle; one should imagine four subdivisions between the two measure-lines which will enclose the ciphers written within them (as we shall show more clearly in the cipher). These four divisions should be imagined in every voice [line], in the treble four divisions, in the contra-alto four divisions, and so on in the other voices. The following is to be understood for every measure in every voice: these divisions, when they are all occupied, are equal to four *semi-minims* as such:  If there are only two symbols, one at the beginning and one in the middle of the measure, they will represent

two *minims*  . If there is only one symbol in the whole measure, then this represents a *semibreve*  . If there was a symbol in the first subdivision and one in the last one, then the first figure is a dotted *minim* and the other a *semi-minim*  . If there is a symbol at the beginning of a measure, and there is no other until half-way through the next measure, then the first note is a dotted *semi-breve*  . And if the symbol appears at the middle of the measure and there is no other until the half of the next measure, the first note is a *semi-breve*, because it occupies two divisions of the measure upon which it is written as well as two divisions of the following measure  ; if the first symbol occupied three divisions-- two in the measure upon which it is written, and one in the measure that follows-- then that note is a dotted *minim*  . And if any of the subdivisions contained two symbols close together, they will be two *corcheas*  and if four symbols were written in any of the subdivisions then they will be *semi-corcheas*; if eight symbols were to fill the whole measure, then they are all *corcheas*  ; if there were sixteen they would be *semi-corcheas*, and if the measure of every voice should contain many notes, then through [by?] counting

and placement you would figure out the value of each of them, in a way that if at the beginning of the measure there is a symbol in the first sub-division and it was followed by six others in the same measure, [*fol. 6v.*] the first would be a *minim* and the rest *corcheas*  . If the same were true but the first note was followed by five symbols, then the first note is a dotted *semi-minim*. And if there were some *semi-corcheas* between *corcheas*, then it would be indicated above the symbol using polyphonic [*organal*] notation (which is good to avoid confusion). If there is a note at the beginning of a measure and nothing else was written until the beginning of a third measure, then this note is a *breve*  . If there is nothing until the fourth measure, then it is a dotted *breve*  ; and if nothing for four measures, then it is a *longa*  ., and if eight then a *maxima*. Take care to decipher each voice carefully, since all voices are given at once in the same measure, and each one of them is different. All which I have said about the notes applies to their corresponding rests, for when *.p.* (which means 'pause') is written at the beginning of the and is followed by a symbol in the second sub-division, then the pause is a *semi-minim* rest  ; if *.p.* is written in the third subdivision it will be a *minim* rest  , and if there

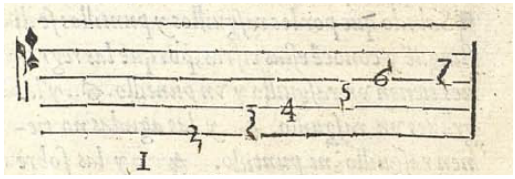
were nothing but a *.p.* written in the measure, this is a *semi-breve* rest  . If the *.p.* were followed by an empty measure and a half  , then it would be a rest of six sub-divisions, etc. And finally, all the blank measures that follow a *.p.* are to be understood as rests in the same voice where that symbols is written, even if the *.p.* is written in the middle of the measure. The sub-divisions are to be measured equally in all the voices. Imagine that there are four notes: the first next to the left bar-line, the second following that, and the third is in the middle of the measure [second sub-division], and the fourth space next to the right bar-line is empty because it is being occupied by a figure of a semi-minim, and since at the same time there are two *corcheas* in the bass, then it follows that the first of these two *corcheas* will be played together with the semi-minim, and the second to be played in the second half of the value of the semi-minim, adjacent to the right bar line.



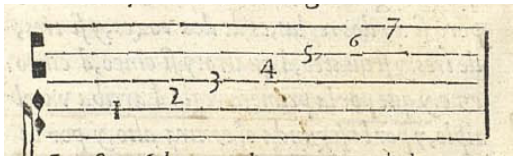
XII. On how to transcribe [intabulate] organal singing [polyphony] using this cipher

One should first know the positions of the *1*s, since from there all the other figures may be obtained; the *gravis 1* is written four spaces

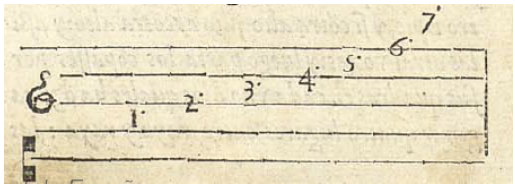
below the *ffaut* clef, and so continue the *gravis* symbols until reaching the *acute 1*, which is in fact written on the very same line as the *ffaut* clef.



One can also think of this as three lines below the *csolfaut* clef, which is the same:



The [range of the] seven *super-acute* figures begin two spaces above the *csolfaut* clef, or a space below the *gsolreut* clef:

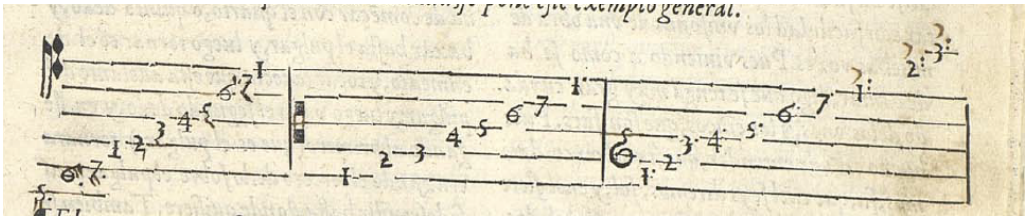


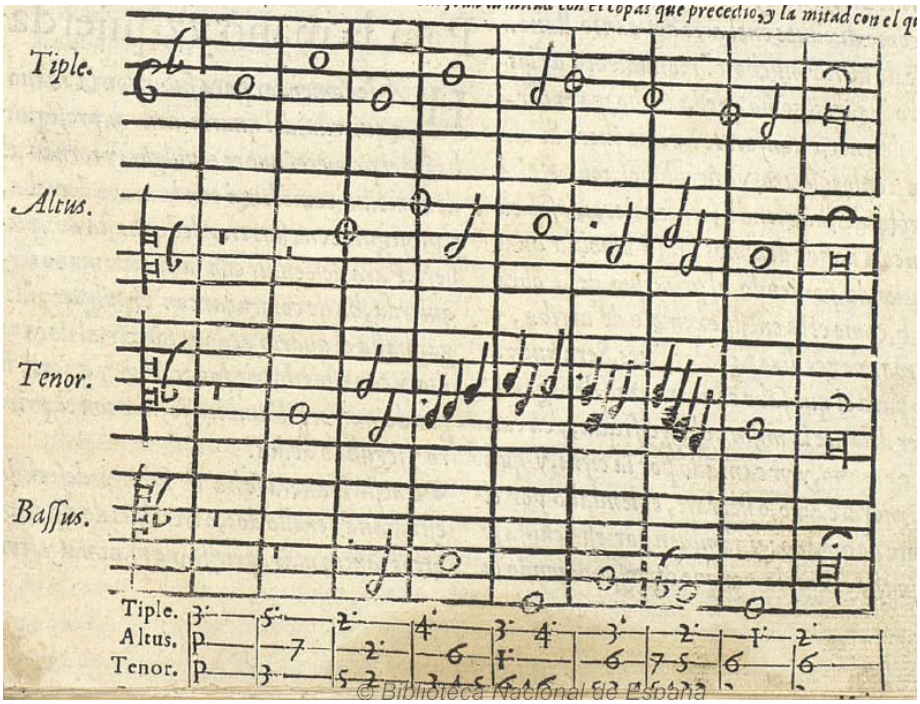
[*fol. 7r.*]

And so, counting upwards, after *1* comes *2, 3, 4,* &c; and descending, below *1* is *7*, *6*, *5*, &c.. Keep in mind that if the *1* is *acute*, then the *7* that follows below it is a *gravis 7*, &c., and if the *1* is *super-acute*, then the *7* below it will be *acute*; and if the *1* is *gravis* then the *7* below will be a *sub-gravis*, then *6*, then *5 sub-gravis*, which is the lowest note on the monochord [clavichord]. Which what I have said above in the declaration of the cipher, the intabulation should be rather easy, and so to avoid mistakes it is best if you point to the notes on the polyphony with the left hand as you write the ciphers with the right. And so one should

transcribe the treble on the highest line all the way to the end, and then the contra-alto in the next line, the tenor on the third, and the bass on the lowest line; and if there are additional vocal lines, then they will take their place among the mentioned four, according to their range. One should always keep in mind that the *acute 1* written on the clef of *ffaut* is the same as writing it three lines below the *csolfaut* clef, and that the *super-acute 1* can either be written two spaces above the *csolfaut* clef, or a space below the *gsolreut.*

The *gravis 1* is *ffaut*, and the *gravis 2* is *gmaut*, 3 *are*, and so forth for those who prefer *gmaut are.* And because s/he who is fluent in writing this cipher will have great ease in playing, singing, and elaborating it as polyphony. I am providing the following example so that a comparison can be made between the polyphony and the tablature [polyphony in score!]. The *semi-breves* bisected by a measure line occupy the last half of the preceding measure as well as the first half of the next.





[*fol. 7v.*]

XIII. To sing from the cipher

One of the great perfections of this cipher is that it can be sung the same way as polyphony [*canto de organo*], and the skilled musician will be able to direct the singers that get lost because all the voices are together in the same measure, one after another, which is also of great value to composers since they will be able to see what all the voices do at once very clearly, and because it makes it easier to spot and correct errors, since *1* against *2*, or *4*, or *7* is a dissonance; it is also easier to spot and correct unisons between the voices. On the subject of singing this cipher, I want

to highlight the importance of keeping track of the *1* and the *5*, which are *fa*s. Since we understand that if we say *fa* on 5, then on 6 we say *sol*, and on *7 la*, and on *4* we say *mi*, and on *3 re*, and on *2 ut*; and if it were ascending or descending higher than this [hexachord] then this [the modulation] should be done in respect to the *fa* closest to the cipher [figure/note] in question, in accordance to the *gravis* or *acute 1* and *5*, as was mentioned in The Art of Plainchant [section IV]. One should also pay close attention to the four sub-divisions of the measure (as we have discussed), so that one can determine the runs and the pauses according to how the cipher is written; and if the *4*s are *bmol*[261] [flat], then the figures are to be taken in respect to it, singing *mi* on *3* and *sol* on *5,* where we had previously said *fa* when it was written without the flat. This is usually signaled by placing a *b* at the beginning of the work as is seen in the example above, sometimes you will also sing *fa* on a *7*. It is advisable for those who know how to sing organal [polyphonic] notation better, to have both the polyphony and the cipher in front of them, so that when s/he is unsure or makes a mistake, to correct it looking

[261] This term mixes the letter name for B (pronounced *beh* in Spanish) with the Latin word for soft: *mollis*.

the polyphony notation, which is yet another reason for providing this example, since it clarifies the correspondence between the polyphonic notation and this cipher.

XIV. Ascending and descending scales on keyed instruments.[262]

Begin by placing the hands on the keys, ascending and descending as follows: With the right hand, on should begin with the thumb (which is the first finger) because this is the best position of the hand, or perhaps finger 2 or three, but once gotten to the fourth finger, use the third finger, and continue ascending as high as needed, alternating between fingers three and four. To descend with the same hand, begin with the fourth finger, or the fifth, and descend all the way to the thumb, and then continue with the third finger, placing it on the not that follows the thumb, and then use the second, and arriving at the first (which is the thumb) cross the third finger over the thumb and so continue descending as much as needed. You can also

[262] This section provides very valuable information about the performance practice of fingering on the keyboard. What is surprising is Venegas's suggestion to use over- and under-thumb substitutions when ascending and descending, a technique that is suggested in keyboard pedagogy to this day; this is probably one of the earliest instances in print where crossing fingers over and under the thumb is suggested. It is likely that this is a style of fingering which was not very common, for he gives alternate fingering patterns.

descend using only the third and second fingers.

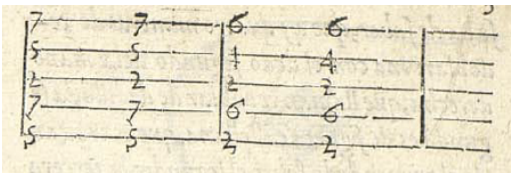
For the left hand

To ascend with the left hand, start with the fourth finger, continuing until you get to the first (which is the thumb) and then turn to the middle finger, as you did with the right hand, and continue using these fingers [1, 2, 3] to ascend as much as you want. To descend with the same hand, start with the thumb and having reached the fourth finger, turn to the third, and with these two fingers [3 & 4] descend to where you desire. You can also ascend with the first and second fingers.

In this way one will ascend and descend; study this for two or three days slowly, then some more days slightly faster, in *minims* and *semi-* [*fol. 8r.*] *minims*, until you are able to do it clearly in *corcheas* [eighth-notes]. This is most useful for beginners who, as they become more comfortable, may take the fingering as it comes easiest. One should note that there is a difference between the monochord [clavichord] and the organ: when a cipher is followed by several blank measures, in the organ one should hold this note for its complete duration, whereas in the monochord this note should be re-struck at the beginning of each measure.

Also, one should make a habit of playing the *quiebro*[263] [trill with turn/turn/mordent] as follows: In the right hand begin with the longest finger [i.e. 3], then play the second, return to the middle, play the fourth, and continue to alternate with these fingers, three and four, first slowly, then a little faster, until it sounds freely. For the *quiebro* with the left hand, begin with the third finger and play up-to the thumb, and alternate between the thumb and the second finger until the note changes. Aside from this, one should know that a *sustenido* [sharp] is when a tone becomes a semi-tone, which is signaled by this symbol //. The *intenso* [*ficta*?] is the opposite, when a semitone becomes a whole-tone [depends on the direction and function of the sharp]; these are hard to explain, although with the instrument and the help of a good ear they will become evident, because in the cases where it should be used the other voices would sound wrong if needing to be an *intenso* one did not do it. After this, so that you may learn to play in octaves and thirds on the monochord, play these two measures,

[263] Covarrubias: *en la musica es un cierto genero de melodia que quiebra la voz con suavidad, y regalo; y de alli se dixo requiebro, y requebrar, y requebrando.* Venegas here describes as a *quiebro* what we would call today a *mordent* , or trill; here he describes the same ornament differently for both hands, but according to his description what we have here is what we call a trill with a preparation.



contracting and expanding the left hand, playing the same patter one or two tones higher in every part of the keyboard, and also in the flats [minor keys], playing thirds with the right hand; then play *Condes Claros*[264] and *fabordones*, and be aware that all the ciphers written atop each other are to be played together.

Then you may play easy melodies, and duos and trios, or things for four voices; although, for the love of melody, it would be best to take something that you enjoy, a trio or quartet, making sure to play this first work very well, taking it little by little, and after you know it, practice it many times until you play it clearly and cleanly, keeping the beat, even if this takes many days because having learned one piece, others will be learned just the same; but know that, often, wanting to learn many things at once will leave you knowing nothing at all. You should play the same pieces you are learning several times every day, because this will expand your memory and train the hands. Take special care to exercise the left hand, playing as fast as you can to prepare

[264] For a more in-depth discussion of *Condes Claros* see: Lawrence, Deborah. "Spain's 'Conde Claros': From Popular Song to Harmonic Formula." *Journal Of Musicological Research* 30.1 (2011): 46-65.

for those works that have divisions on the bass.

On the harp, you ascend and descend with the first and second fingers of the right hand, crossing the thumb over the second finger; and with the second and third fingers of the left hand.

XV. To ascend and descend on the Vihuela

Start with the first and second fingers of the right hand in alternation [*figueta*], and with the second and fifth, or fourth fingers o the left: and so you will be able to ascend, and descend, from the *gravis* one (f) to the *superacute* 3 (a); you can do this starting and ending in whichever number (note) you wish.

The trill [*quiebro*] is to move the finger up and down on a string on a fret or to leave one finger down on the fret while moving another finger one or two frets away, etc. [*fol. 9v.*] You ought to know that there are four ways to trill: with the second finger of the right hand, which is called trilling with *dedillo*; the second way is called the Castilian *figueta* and consists of crossing the thumb over the index finger and alternating them quickly on a string; the third way is the foreign *figueta* which is the opposite, the index finger is crossed over the thumb; the fourth way of doing it is with the second and third fingers, which is a good technique when you need to play the *cantus*

firmus with the thumb and want to play a discant over the *cantus firmus* or variations or trill, as this could not be done if you use the *figueta* method. And note that to ascend and descend while trilling, you are not to play the figures on the fifth fret, but rather their corresponding unisons on an open string, because it is easier this way, and you should use the fifth finger rather than the fourth, because the hand looks more gracious this way. The unison of the open fifth string is the subbassus 3, the open fourth string corresponds to bassus 6, the third open string has its unison on the sharp of acute 1, the second string is acute 4, and the first open sting corresponds to acute 7. And in the vihuela cipher this shall be indicated by a zero, which indicates an open string.

After this has been understood, follow the same trajectory outlined above for learning to play on keyboard instruments.

The best way to understand the cipher for vihuela is to keep in mind the position of all the bassus and acute 7 (e) and in what frets they are to be played, but also of the ciphers for acutes 1 and 5, which are in the clefs of *ffaut* and *csolfaut*, and know the positions of the frets for the corresponding unisons, which are six frets apart from one string to the next, except from the fourth to the third strings, which is a fret closer. In

the same way as you think of the open-string unisons, these stopped unisons (which your ear will help you locate) are to be used when a the voices of a composition are in a high range, so as to be able to reach all the registers, and play the higher voice in the first string using the first frets, otherwise you could not use the hand to reach the other voices, and any other configuration would render the rest of the stings unplayable because you have stopped them. All this is must be done by looking for the corresponding unisons which, for better clarity, will be seen in the vihuela found in the section on how to transcribe the old cipher to this new one. Before you start ciphering a work, get an initial idea of its range, as there are many works that will not fit into the range of the vihuela. Also notice the kind of rhythmic divisions, especially ascending and descending runs in minims and semi-minims, because they will be difficult to play, even for those who have skilled hands: since, even though the vihuela is a more perfect instrument than the harp and the keyboard, it is still much harder to play. And since it is important to know how this cipher applies to these three different instruments, it occurred to me to illustrate them here, to indicate what key corresponds to what cipher, or what string of the harp, or the corresponding fret in the vihuela.

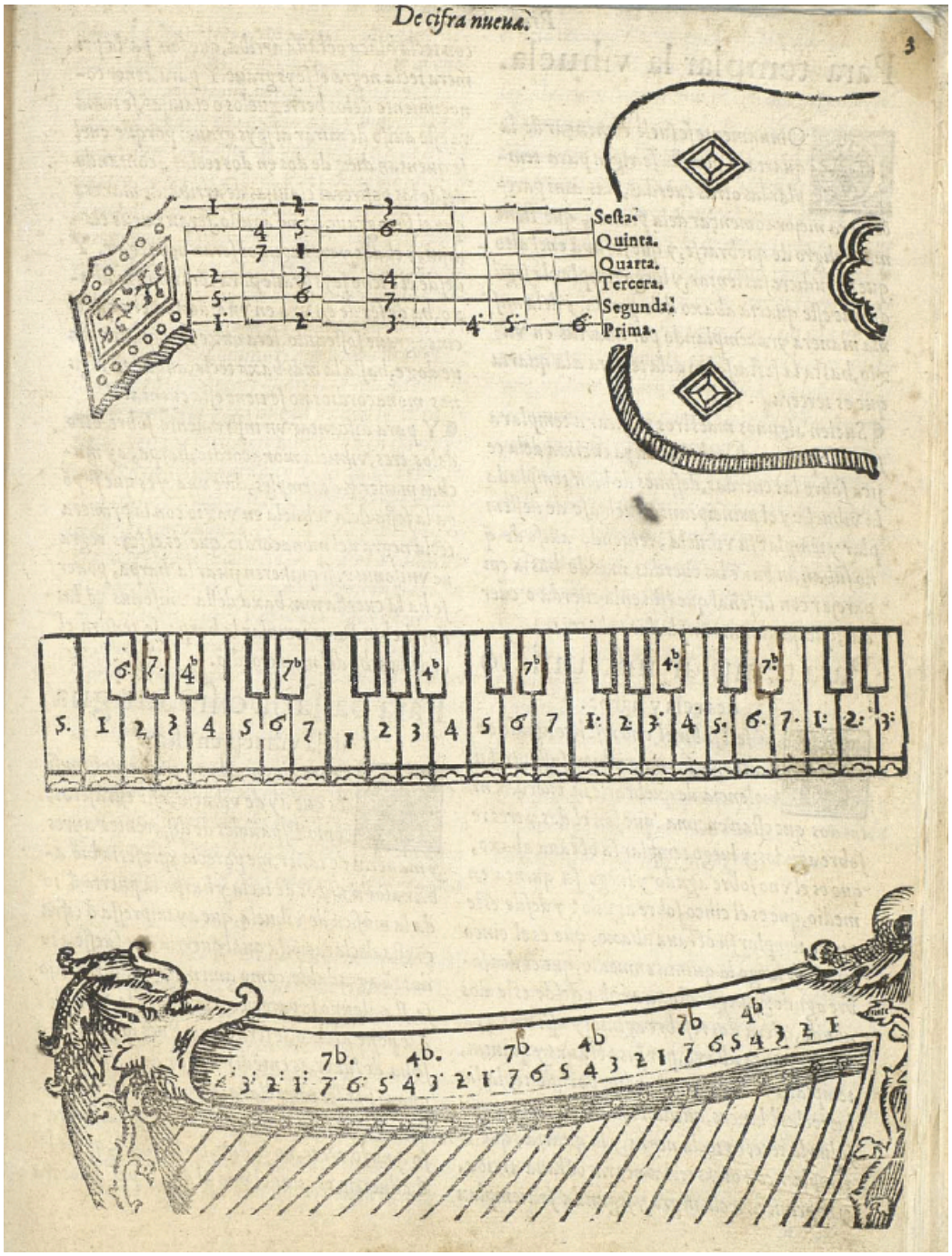
Although note that in the vihuela the ciphers will not always be in the same place, as this depends on the tuning and the work.

It also seemed a good idea to discuss how these instuments are tuned after the illustration.

XVI. On tuning the Vihuela

One commonly starts tuning the vihuela with the fourth string, and from that string one can tune all the others, but it seems to me better to start with the first string, which has a higher chance of breaking. Therefore it is best to tune this string as high as it can go before breaking, and then tune the second string, which is a fourth below that one, and carry on tuning the strings in fourth this way, except for the third and fourth strings, which have a third between them.

Some teach their students how to tune the vihuela by drawing a line over the strings across the nut of the vihuela, then they have the student untune the instrument and tune it again, using the lines of the strings as a guide. When the line on the strings lines up again, the strings are in tune.


De cifra nueua.
3
Sesta.
Quinta.
Quarta.
Tercera.
Segunda.
Prima.

XVII. On tuning the harp and keyed instruments[265]

First, raise the pitch of the *re super-acute 1* as high as possible without breaking this string or the other two above it, which are the *re super-acute 2* and *3*; then tune the octave below that, which is the *super-acute 1*, and then tune the fifth between them, which is the *super-acute 5,* and after the octave below that, which is the *acute 5*; then tune the fifth between those, which is the *super-acute 2*, then tune the octave above that, which is the *re super-acute 2*; and thus, going up and down through the octaves and the fifths you can tune the whole monochord, since having tuned all the white keys, the black keys will be tuned at the same time, except for the third black key and the fourth black key [i.e. the lowest G#], which are tuned with other black keys an octave above, and the first and second black keys, which are tuned with other white keys an octave above, which for the first black key is the *gravis 6*. To orient yourself and learn the placement of the tuning pegs, take notice of this *gravis 6* since it is the tenth tuning peg counting from above, in such a way that *gravir 7* and *acute 1* are the ninth peg, and

[265] The tuning here given is done in fifths; while this might suggest some sort of just intonation, it is so vague that it is not possible to say with certainty the temperament which Venegas prefers. It is very possible that the instrument was tuned in 5ths and then adjusted to better suit each particular piece.

the *acute 2* and *3* are the eighth, etc. And from the said *gravis 6* counting backward, each note will have a single peg, so that *gravis //5* is the eleventh peg, and *gravis 4* the twelfth, until the lowest key, although some monochords do not follow this arrangement.

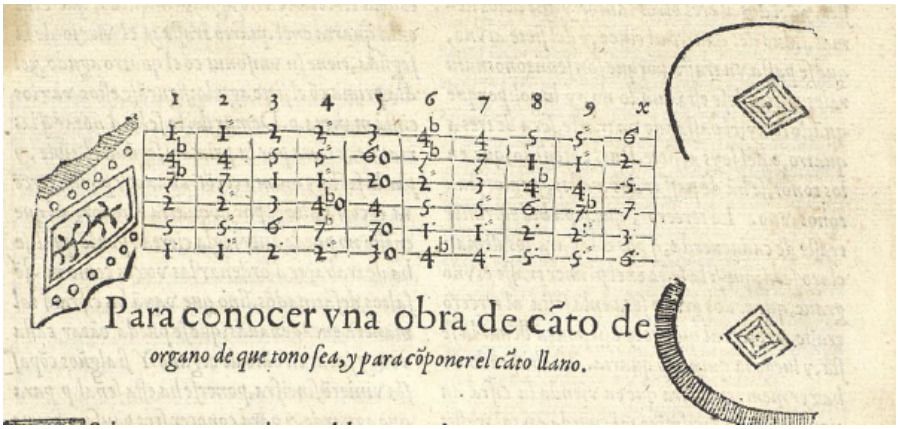
And to discant with any of these instruments over the other (*vihuela*, *arpa*, y *tecla*) there are many ways of tuning, but I will mention only one: tune the unstopped sixth string of the *vihuela* in unison with the lowest black key of the monochord, which is the *re gravis 6* [D]; to add the harp to the ensemble, tune the lowest string of the harp with those mentioned above for the *vihuela* and the monochord. To tune the rest of the harp, follow the same procedure as stated above for tuning the monochord.

XVIII. To transcribe the old cipher for the Vihuela into this one

Keeping in mind all the many eminent players of the vihuela, both foreign and Spanish, who have such different ways of playing, it seemed to me to be a good idea to open the path of vihuela music for those players of the harp and the keyboard, so that they may play all available printed music in cipher, hoping that it will be as pleasurable to the players as it has been difficult for me. And if you find this still somewhat obscure,

I hope that the illustration of the vihuela below will be useful. The first thing to do is to understand the way that the old cipher works; since this is clear and there are so many vihuela books where this is discussed, I will refrain from doing it here. The other thing to note is that from the number 1 to 2 there are two frets, and so on, except from number 7 to number 1, between which is only one fret, because this is the natural semitone. Of course if there were to be a *b-flat* (*bmol*), then the distance from 7 to 1 would be a tone, and therefore two frets appart. The third thing to know well is what ciper corresponds to the first fret of each string, as you will be able to discern the other frets from that one. This way you should work to memorize the correspondences between the old cipher and the new, making a note of how they correspond as you play. By knowing the cipher that corresponds to the first fret of each string you may also find what tone or cipher corresponds to the open string, since the open string will always be one semitone below the cipher of the first fret. The unisons from one string to another can be determined by knowing that they are five frets apart from one string to another, except from the third to the fourth strings, which are one less fret apart. As can be seen in the vihuela illustrated below. Further, it should be noted that

usually the superius voice is to be played in the first and second strings, and the bassus usually on the fifth and sixth strings, the altus usually on the third string and the tenor in the fourth, although this isn't a hard and fast rule, since the player should arrange the voices in such a way as to not have undesirable large leaps in the voices, in such a way that would make it impossible to sing each voice individually as if it were a polyphony work. And if there are measure that have no ciphers, place this signal *.p.* so as to be able to differentiate between those places where there should be silence and those places where the blank space simply means the continuation of a previous voice, although one should be sure to have no false relations to other notes in the measure. For this reason it is better to cipher all voices in a measure at a time, rather than take each voice individually from the beginning to end [note: this is the opposite of what Venegas suggests for ciphering works on the keyboard].



XIX. On how to determine the tone of an organal work, and how to compose Plainchant

It should be noted that each [chant] tone is comprised of 5 parts: the initial tone [*principio*], the ambitus [*discurso*], clausula, reciting tone [*frequentacion*], final, and some add the intonation. We can say of each of these parts that the initial tone upon which any chant may begin. The first mode may begin in *cfaut* which is bassus 5, or in *dsolre* as bassus 6, in *elami* as bassus 7, in *ffaut* as acute 1, in *alamire* as acute 3, but not in *gsolreut* which is acute 2 because that is the initial tone for the eighth mode. The second mode may begin in *gamut* as bassus 2, in *are* as bassus 3, in *cfaut* as bassus 5 in *dsolre* as bassus 6, in *elami* as bassus 7, in *alamire* acute 3, but not in *bmi* which is bassus 4, because it is the end of the diatessaron of the fourth mode, but it may begin in *ffaut* as acute 1

(although this is rare), but not in *gsolreut* which is acute 2. The third mode may begin in *elami* and *ffaut* and sometimes in *gsolreut*, in *alamire* and ocassionally in *bfami* and *csolfaut*. The fourth mode may begin in *cfaut*, *dsolre*, *elami*, *ffaut*, *gsolreut*, and *elamire*. The fifith mode may begin in *ffaut*, *gsolreut*, and frequently in *alamire* and *bfami*; and sometimes in *csolfaut* and *ffaut.* The sixth mode can begin in *cfaut*, *dsolre*, *elami*, *ffaut*, and *alamire*. The seventh in *gsolreut*, *alamire*, *bfami*, *csolfaut* and *dlasolre*. The eighth mode can begin in *cfaut*, *dsolre*, *ffaut*, *gsolreut*, *alamire* but not in *elami* or *bfami*.

¶Of the ambitus

The ambitus of every mode, which is the range, is eight notes [*puntos*], counting from its final which is a diapason composed of two species: of diapente and of diatessaron. If it is an authentic [*maestro*] mode then the diapente is above the final, and above that its Diatessaron; if the mode is plagal [*discipulo*] then the final is above the Diatessaron, and above that its diapente. It is also noteworthy that each mode is given an extra note in its diapason; the authentic modes have this note below their diapason, and the authentic modes above. The exception is the fifth mode which may have two or none, so as not to

create two diminished fifths in *elami*, or in *bfami*.

About the clausula

The *clausula* is the moment in the text where the sentence finds its perfection. The *clausula* usually consists of three notes, in the following manner: that there be a unison, with a dissonant note above or below. It should be noted that there are three types, one is the aforementioned. The second way consist in descending the distance of a third, and the third way is ascending the same: all of them will consist of three notes. Further it ought to be kept in mind that a mode may close in the first or last notes of the *diapente* or *diatessaron* that comprises each mode, or in the places designated as reciting [psalm] tones, or in any place where the *seculorum* cadences.

About the reciting tone

The reciting tone is that note of the chant to which the melody arrives most often, achieved either by *clausuae* or arrived to by diverse steps. It should be noted that in authentic [*maestro*] modes the reciting tone is a *diapente* above its final (may also be a *diapente* below the final, but this is not common). If the mode is plagal [*discipulo*] the reciting tone will be a *diatessaron* above the final, but not making *clausula* in this same place above, but

rather below the *diatessaron*. The reciting tones for both types of modes shall always be in the notes I have mentioned. Aside from this, the following ought to be remembered: the first mode will have a reciting tone in *re.la*, the second *re.sol*, the third *mi.fa* as a sixth not a second, the fourth mode in *mi.lala*, the fifth mode more often in *ut.sol* than in its natural *diapente fa.fa*, the sixth mode *fa.fa* as a fourth or *fa.la* as a third, and the seventh in *ut.sol*, the octave *ut.fa*.

About the final

The final is the notes on which a mode can come to a close. For both authentic and plagal modes, this note shall be the lowest note of the mode's *diapente*; you will notice that this note is the same for the authentic and corresponding plagal mode. In polyphonic music the superius and tenor of a composition may chose to end on a different note, for the sake of creating a better consonance [harmony] with the other voices. But in this case, the other voices must end on the final. In plainchant, the first and second mode have a final on 6 [cipher], the third and fourth modes on 7, the fifth and sixth on 1, and the seventh and eighth modes on 2.

Those who wish to compose plainchant ought to remember the rules above, also procuring to imitate the chant according to the use of

Toledo [=*cantoria Toledana*] as well as to know the placement of tones and semi-tones, as well as the diatonic and chromatic genres so that they may be used at the proper time. Having chosen the text to be set, one should decide if the chant will be happy or sad, if it should rise in exclamation or fall in lamentation, so that the meaning of the text is always highlighted with perfect sense and vigor, since that is the purpose of song.

¶These guidelines are useful also for the instrument player for knowing the composition of the modes.

¶It would be good practice as well to make a notebook of the works glossed in this book, writing the texted voice on one line, and the gloss in a line below it, so as to grasp the process of making a sung part into a gloss.

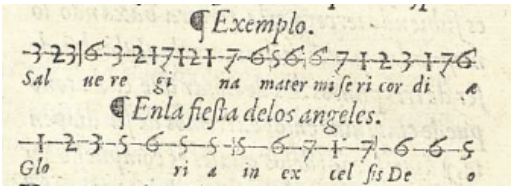
XX. Greater compendium of plainchant

Wishing to provide a method on how to learn to sing without a teacher, I have come up with what follows, which there's no harm in trying. The first thing you need to know is how this cipher corresponds to the notation of plainchant, taking as an example the keyboard [=monacordio] illustrated above and inscribing a real one with the same numbers; keep in mind that the clef of *ffaut* is acute 1 and that a note below is bassus 7, and then 6, 5, and so on. If ascending in the same

manner, then after acute 1 would follow 2, 3, etc. and keep in mind that ones and fives are *fas* and remember what key corresponds to these ciphers, as this will help you figure out the position of the other ciphers above or below them (as we discussed in the *arte* on plainchant above). Then you ought to sing *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* and their mutations along with the keyboard following the ciphers that correspond to the notes of the plainchant. This way you will learn how to figure out all other chants in the books, and the keyboard will help you keep the tune. After this, or perhaps it is better before, then you might transcribe plainchants into this cipher, possibly beginning with an introit or *pater noster*, an *ite missa est*, or any other chant with which you are very familiar. When setting the texts to such ciphered chants, note that if there were ciphers that do not have syllables below them, this means that it is the same as notes that are tied [i.e. melisma].

¶It would be advantageous for the beginner to intone *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* with the keyboard, and then sing the intervals of fourths and fifths, so that they may compare what they sing to the note of the keyboard, and if they match in a unison, then one can be sure that the note is correct. And if you were to be very out of tune, then don't waste your time trying to learn. Although I have seen

some that could not match pitch learn to do so with the aid of the keyboard. It would be good to have someone that can listen and judge the tuning, because once someone becomes accustomed to singing out of tune, it becomes very difficult to break this bad habit.



On polyphony

Know that it is possible to cipher polyphonic music with this method without knowing to sing plainchant or polyphony. One thing that is essential to know, however, is the value of the notes, their corresponding rests, and the ligatures, and where they are to be found on the keyboard. Once this is learned, then you may cipher whatever voice you wish from a *villanncico* or a *fabordón,* which you will sing with the aid of the instrument, keeping good time, and keeping track of the 1s and 5s which are *fas* and will help you orient yourself on the keyboard. Then sing the melody from the polyphony itself, noting when it stops, and how long each of the notes are; then you must keep in mind the tempo [=*compas*] and where it goes down or up (which is usually the first and third places [i.e. beats]. Then you may set all of the other voices in a similar way, singing through the voice being

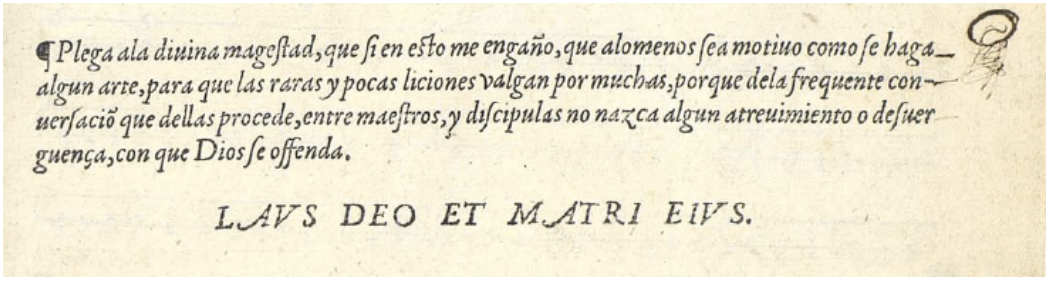
ciphered because this is not only advantageous, but it is always pleasing to sing the text. All of this will be much easier for those who already know how to play a little, since there are many that play but cannot sing. For those that know how to sing, they could skip the plainchant and start directly to sing polyphony.

To translate this cipher into polyphony

Know that acute 1 is the location of the *ffaut* clef, and that acute 5 corresponds to *csolfaut*, and that superacute 2 is *gsolreut*. Then by the arrangement of measures and the tempo you will be able to figure out the value of each cipher, keeping in mind that the clefs should follow the ascent or descent of the voices. And if the work were to contain a *b flat* then this should be placed at the beginning of every voice, and when there is a *.p.* use the corresponding mensural rest.

¶ *I plead to his divine majesty that if I am deceived in the present pursuit, that there at least be the gain in this arte in providing much knowledge with the least number of music lessons, since from the frequent meetings and conversations between a tutor and a student there could arise some transgressions or shameful acts which would be offensive to God.*

GLORY BE TO GOD AND HIS MOTHER.


¶ Plega ala diuina mageſtad, que ſi en eſto me engaño, que alomenos ſea motiuo como ſe haga algun arte, para que las raras y pocas liciones valgan por muchas, porque dela frequente conuerſaciõ que dellas procede, entre maeſtros, y diſcipulas no nazca algun atreuimiento o deſuerguença, con que Dios ſe offenda.

LAVS DEO ET MATRI EIVS.

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